1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

# ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE WASHO

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

## I. INTRODUCTION

A SKETCH by Barrett, mainly relating to museum specimens, Kroeber's list of kinship terms, Hudson's notes on games in Culin's monograph, and a few mythological texts by Dangberg constitute our technical sources on the Washo.[1] Several weeks at Minden, Nevada (informant, Dave Cheney), and at Coleville, California (principal informants, Jack Pitts and Bill Cornbread), in 1926 supplied the data here offered.

The Washo (wasə, wəsə), classed either as an isolated stock or as an aberrant Hokan group, ranged about Lake Tahoe (t'i"yeli ta"au), residing in westernmost Nevada and easternmost California. Carson City, Reno, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada, fall within ancient Washo territory, as do Truckee, Tallac, and Woodfords, California. According to Barrett, even a small region west of the Sierra, on the headwaters of the Mokelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, falls within the Washo area. Kroeber sets their total number in 1770 at possibly 1500, one-third of the total being in California, where more recent figures indicate approximately 300. But separatism was extreme: Jack Pitts had been to Lake Tahoe a single time, political units hardly embraced more than six or seven families, and only festivals united larger gatherings.

Bill distinguished the Washo about Woodfords and of Antelope Valley as ha'yale'lt'i, those near Minden and Gardnerville being p'a"walu, and the Reno Washo we'lmelt'i. Though distinct, these groups had never waged war with one another. Bill associated the Washo with Mountain House and Bagley Valley but did not consider Antelope Valley ancient Washo territory, rather assigning it to the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso. When about 30, he himself came there, and at that time there were not many Washo in that locality.

Three alien tribes figure prominently: the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso (pa"le.u), whom the Carson Valley Washo sometimes visited near the Walker River; the "Digger," that is, Maidu (teobi'mue), about Placerville and Colfax; and "another kind of Digger" (tannu'), distinct in speech from the Maidu,—presumably Miwok. The two former were definitely noted as periodically hostile, the Washo trying to exclude both from Lake Tahoe. The Maidu often took game away from the Washo, even killing them, and thus precipitated fighting.

[1] S. A. Barrett, The Washo, PMM-B 1:1-52, 1917. Grace Dangberg, Washo Texts, UC-PAAE 22:361-443, 1927. A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:569-573, 944, 1925. S. Culin, Games of the North American Indians, BAE-B 24:199, 295, 322 f., 335, 396, 523, 664, 704, 1907.



[P. 300 is blank]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20



## Terms of Relationship

601 [193]

To facilitate comparison, my list is presented in the order of Kroeber's;[1] but since the terms were always used with pronominal prefixes, these possessives are retained.

### *Parent and Child Class*

| | |
|---|---|
| tikol' | my father |
| tila·' | my mother |
| tiṣa'm | my son |
| tiṣa'mu | my daughter |

### *Sibling Class*

| | |
|---|---|
| ti.a·'t'u | my elder brother *or* e. male cousin |
| tii·'su | my elder sister *or* e. female cousin |
| tipe·'yu | my younger brother *or* y. male cousin |
| tiwi'tsuk | my younger sister *or* y. female cousin |

### *Grandparent and Grandchild Class*

| | |
|---|---|
| tipa'pa | my father's father |
| lapa·'pa | my son's child (m. sp.) |
| ti.e·'lel | my mother's father |
| le.e·'leli | my daughter's child (m. sp.) |
| ti.'a'ma | my father's mother |
| la'a·'ama (also recorded la.a·'·ama) | my son's child (w. sp.) |
| tiku·'u | my mother's mother |
| lebu'k'u.l | my sister's daughter's child (Jack did not remember any reciprocal term) |
| leku·'l | my daughter's child (w. sp.) |
| tisa'ma | my father's father's sister |
| lase·'·ama | my brother's son's child (w. sp.) |
| lasa'tsagi | my brother's son's son (m. sp.) |
| tisa'tsuk | my father's father's brother |

### *Uncle and Nephew Class*

| | |
|---|---|
| ti.e·.'uel | my father's brother; mother's sister's husband |
| tima·'aca | my brother's child (m. sp.) |
| tita·'a | my mother's brother |
| tima·'gu | my sister's child;[2] my sister's husband's child (m. sp.) my husband's sibling's child; my stepson (w. sp.) |
| tiya' | my father's sister |
| tie·'muk | my brother's child (w. sp.) |
| tica'ca | my mother's sister; father's brother's wife; my stepmother |

[1] California Kinship Systems, UC-PAAE 12:362, 1917. [113]

[2] For a speaker of either sex, according to my information; Kroeber was not sure of the stem for a woman's sister's child and thought it might be e·'muk. However, he found that a woman called her sister's husband her "sister's child's father," magudakoi, which phrase supports my definition of magu.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20



## Ceremonialism

### Sweat Lodge

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating 515 (titɔ'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to 224 one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain 789 would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No [343] rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pehe'"tsiy t'a'ɣa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ɣalita kumto'ca.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

[114] My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[a] who records—though as a [177] probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

### Antelope Charming

624 The Antelope chief (al'yɔa kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and 224 the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got 756 his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was 787 living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night. you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113] [a] Kroeber, Handbook, 573.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20



## ABBREVIATIONS USED

113

| | |
|---|---|
| AA | American Anthropologist |
| BAE-B | Bureau of American Ethnology—Bulletins |
| BAE-R | Bureau of American Ethnology—(Annual) Reports |
| JAFL | Journal of American Folk-Lore |
| PMM-B | Public Museum (of the City of) Milwaukee—Bulletins |
| UC-PAAE | University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology |

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20



similar traits already noted, it might indicate that the Washo were in the past a California tribe, coming from that area at some early time, settling close to the Great Basin tribes, and taking over from them many of their culture traits, particularly those relating to the procurement of food.

NOTES

[1] Barrett, S. A. *The Washo Indians*, Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1917), pp. 1–52.

[2] Kroeber, A. L. *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1925. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78.

[3] Lowie, Robert H. *Ethnographic Notes on the Washo*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 5, Berkeley, 1939.

[4] Driver, Harold E. *Culture Element Distributions, XVI. Girls' Puberty Rites in Western North America*, University of California Anthropological Records, Berkeley, 6, No. 2, 1941, pp. 21–90.

[5] Stewart, Omer C. *Culture Element Distributions. XIV. Northern Paiute*, University of California Anthropological Records (Berkeley), 4, No. 3, 1941, pp. 361–446.

[6] Steward, Julian H. *Culture Element Distributions. XIII. Nevada Shoshone*, University of California Anthropological Records (Berkeley), 4, No. 2, 1941, pp. 209–359.

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.385, A]

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

●113

**Abbreviations**

| | |
|---|---|
| AA | American Anthropologist |
| BAE | Bureau of American Ethnology |
| SI-MC | Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous Collections |
| UC | University of California Publications |
| -AR | Anthropological Records |
| -PAAE | American Archaeology and Ethnology |

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.385, B]


Barrett, Samuel A.
1917. The Washo Indians. Bull. Milwaukee Pub. Mus., Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-52.

Cartwright, W. D.
1953. A Washo Girls' Puberty Ceremony. Pro. 30th Int. Cong. of Americanists, pp. 136-142. London.

Dangberg, Grace
1927. Washo Texts. UC-PAAE 23:391-443.

d'Azevedo, Warren L., and A. P. Merriam
1957. Washo Peyote Songs. AA 59:615-641.

Freed, Stanley A.
1960. Changing Washo Kinship. UC-AR 14:349-418.

Heizer, Robert F.
1950. Kutsavi, A Great Basin Indian Food. Kroeber Anthro. Papers, No. 2 (Fall), pp. 35-41.

Kroeber, Alfred L.
1907. Religion of the Indians of California. UC-PAAE 4:319-356.

Kluckhohn, Clyde, and Dorothea Leighton
1947. The Navaho. Cambridge; London.

Lowie, Robert H.
1939. Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. UC-PAAE 36:301-352.

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 385, C]

● 113

Mooney, James
1896. The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890. BAE 14th Ann. Report, Part 2, pp. 641-1136.

1928. Aboriginal population of America North of Mexico. SI-MC 80, No. 7, Washington, D.C.

Siskin, E. E.
MS The Impact of the Peyote Cult Upon Shamanism Among the Washo Indians. Ph.D. Diss. 1941. Yale Univ.

Steward, Julian H.
1936. Myths of the Owens Valley Paiute. UC-PAAE 34:355-440.

1941. Culture Element Distribution, XIII: Nevada Shoshone. UC-AR 4:209-360.

Stewart, Omer C.
1941. Culture Element Distribution, XIV: Northern Paiute. UC-AR 4:361-446.

1944. Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism. UC-PAAE 40:63-142.

Whiting, Beatrice Blyth
1950. Paiute Sorcery. New York.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 ●

## Abbreviations

UC-AR University of California Anthropological Records.
UC-ASR University of California Archaeological Survey Reports.
UC-PAAE University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
UU-AP University of Utah Anthropological Papers.


Adams, Richard, et al.
n.d. Workshop in Economic Anthropology. Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change, University of Chicago. Ms.

Anastasio, Angelo
n.d. Intergroup Relations in the Southern Plateau. Unpublished. (Ph.D. dissertation, 1955, University of Chicago).

Barrett, Samuel A.
1908 The Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians. UC-PAAE, Vol. 16, No. 2, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

1917 The Washo Indians. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1, Milwaukee.

Barrett, Samuel A. and Edward W. Gifford
1933 Miwok Material Culture. Publications of the Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin 2, No. 4, Milwaukee.

Beals, Ralph L.
1933 Ethnology of the Nisenan. UC-PAAE, Vol. 31, No. 6, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

California Interstate Telephone Co.
1959 Romantic Heritage of Douglas-Alpine.

Cappannari, Stephan C.
1960 The Concept of Property Among Shoshoneans. Essays in the Science of Culture, G. E. Dole and R. L. Carneiro (Eds.), Thomas Y. Crowell Co., N. Y.

Dangberg, Grace
n.d. Ethnographic Field Notes on the Washo Indians. Ms.

1927 Washo Texts. UC-PAAE, Vol. 22, No. 3, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Davis, James T.
1961 Trade Routes and Economic Exchange Among the Indians of California. UC-ASR, No. 54, Berkeley.

Davis, Kingsley
1949 Human Society. Macmillan, New York.

d'Azevedo, Warren L.
n.d. (a) Washo Trek Routes. Unpublished map.

n.d. (b) Washo Habitation Sites and Place Names. Ms.

d'Azevedo, Warren L. and John A. Price
n.d. A Bibliography of Washo Sources. In Press, UU-AP.

Department of Economic Development
n.d. Nevada Agriculture and other pamphlets. Carson City.

Dodge, J. (Indian Agent)
n.d. Letter to Iacob Forney, Esq., Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory, Jan. 4, 1859. BIA, Utah Superintendency, L. R. 1859, D-635.

Downs, James F.
1961 Washo Religion. UC-AR, Vol. 16, No. 9, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

n.d. Differential Response to White Contact: Paiute and Washo. In Press, UU-AP.

Driver, Harold E. and William C. Massey
1957 Comparative Studies of North American Indians. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 47, Part 2, Philadelphia.

DuBois, Cora
1936 The Wealth Concept as an Integrative Factor in Tolowa-Tututni Culture. Essays in Honor of A. L. Kroeber, R. Lowie (Ed.), University of California Press, Berkeley.

Elsasser, Albert B.
1960 The Archaeology of the Sierra Nevada, in California and Nevada. UC-ASR, No. 51, Berkeley.

Fairfield, Asa M.
1916 Pioneer History of Lassen County, California. Crocker Company, San Francisco.

Farris and Smith (Publishers)
1882 Illustrated History of Plumas, Lassen, and Sierra Counties, San Francisco.

Freed, Stanley A.
n.d. Washo Habitation Sites in the Lake Tahoe Area. Ms.

1960 Changing Washo Kinship. UC-AR, Vol. 14, No. 6, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

n.d. A Reconstruction of Aboriginal Washo Social Organization. In Press, UU-AP.

Freed, Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed
n.d. A Configuration of Aboriginal Washo Culture. In Press, UU-AP.

Genoa Weekly Courier
1891 Genoa.

Gifford, Edward W.
1926 Californian Anthropometry. UC-PAAE, Vol. 22, No. 2, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Haglund, E. A., et. al,
1961 The Washo, Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Nevada. Department of Education, State of Nevada, Carson City.

Heizer, Robert F. and Albert B. Elsasser
1953 Some Archaeological Sites and Cultures of the Central Sierra Nevada. UC-ASR, No. 21, Berkeley.

Herskovits, Melville J.
1952 Economic Anthropology. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Hoebel, E. Adamson
1958 Man in the Primitive World, McGraw-Hill, New York.

Hopkins, Sarah Winnemucca
1883 Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Mrs. Horace Mann (Ed.). G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Hrdlička, Ales
1904 Direction for Collecting Information and Specimens for Physical Anthropology, Bulletin, U. S. Natural History Museum, No. 34, Part R, Washington.

Hurt, Garlund (Indian Agent)
n.d. Letter to His Excellency Brigham Young, Governor and Ex Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory, September, 1856. BIA, Utah Superintendency, L. R. 1856, U-13.

Indian Claims Commission
1959 The Washoe Tribe v. The United States. Docket 288, Findings of Fact.

Ingalls, G. W., Major
1913 Indians of Nevada, 1825 to 1913. The History of Nevada. Sam P. Davis (Ed.). Elms Publishing Co., Reno.

Jacobsen, William H., Jr.
n.d. Internal Reconstruction in Washo. Ms., Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

James, George Wharton
1956 The Lake of the Sky, Lake Tahoe. Charles T. Powner Co., Chicago.

Kennedy, K. A. R.
1959 The Aboriginal Population of the Great Basin. UC-ASR, No. 45, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Kroeber, A. L.
1907 The Washo Language of East Central California and Nevada. UC-PAAE, Vol. 4, No. 4, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

1925 Handbook of the Indians of California. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 78, Washington.

1947 Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America. UC-PAAE, Vol. 38, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

1955 Linguistic Time Depths So Far and Their Meaning. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 21, No. 2.

Lamb, Sydney M.
1958 Linguistic Prehistory in the Great Basin. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 24, No. 2.

Lowie, Robert H.
1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. UC-PAAE, Vol. 36, No. 5, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

113

Mack, Effie Mona
1945 Nevada's First House. The Nevada Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, Gardnerville.

Merriam, A. P. and Warren L. d'Azevedo
1957 Washo Peyote Songs. American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 4, Menasha.

Merriam, C. Hart
n.d. Vocabularies of North American Indians, Tribe: Washoo. Ms.

n.d. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Biological Survey, Field Check Lists, Pacific Coast Region, Wah-shoo. Ms.

Murphey, Edith Van Allen
1959 Indian Uses of Native Plants. Desert Printers Inc., Palm Desert.

Nevada, A Guide to the Silver State
1940 Writer's Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Nevada. Binfords and Mort, Portland.

Nevins, Allan (Ed.)
1956 Narratives of Exploration and Adventure by John Charles Fremont. Longmans, Green and Co., New York.

Polanyi, Karl
1959 Anthropology and Economic Theory. Readings in Anthropology, Morton Fried (Ed.), Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York.

Price, John A.
n.d. (a) A Review of Research on Prehistory in Washo Territory. In Press, UU-AP.

n.d. (b) Some Aspects of Washo Life Cycle. In Press, UU-AP.

Program of the Carson Agency
n.d. Ms., Stewart.

Remy, Jules and Robert Brenchley
1860 A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City, Vol. 1, W. Jeffs, London.

Riddell, Francis
1960 Honey Lake Paiute Ethnography. Nevada State Museum Anthropological Papers, No. 4, Carson City.

Record-Courier
1956
1959
1960 Gardnerville.

Sahlins, Marshall
1960 Political Power and the Economy in Primitive Society. Essays in the Science of Culture, G. E. Dole and R. L. Carneiro (Eds.), Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York.

Sample, Laetitia L.
1950 Trade and Trails in Aboriginal California. UC-ASR, No. 8, Berkeley.

San Francisco Chronicle
1892 San Francisco.

Scott, Edward B.
1957 The Saga of Lake Tahoe, Sierra-Tahoe Pub. Co., Crystal Bay, Lake Tahoe.

Sieber, E. T. (Ed.)
1951 My Sixty Years on the Plains, Trapping, Trading, and Indian Fighting. Author: William T. Hamilton. Reprinted by Longs College Book Co., Columbus.

Siskin, Edgar E.
1938 Washo Territory. American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, No. 4, pt. 1, Menasha.

Stewart, Julian H.
1938 Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 120, Washington.

Stewart, Omer C.
1941 Culture Element Distributions: XIV, Northern Paiute. UC-AR, Vol. 4, No. 3, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Thompson, Thomas H. and Albert A. West
1881 History of Nevada. Thompson-West, Oakland. Reprinted by Howell-North, Berkeley. In 1958 with Myron Angel as editor.

Train, Percy, James R. Heinrichs and W. Andrew Archer
1941 Medicinal Use of Plants by Indian Tribes of Nevada. Contributions Toward a Flora of Nevada, No. 35, U. S. Department of Agriculture and Agricultural Research Service, Baltimore.

White, Leslie A.
1959 The Evolution of Culture. McGraw-Hill, New York.

113

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 417, A]
[P. 416 is blank]

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Abbreviations

●113

| | |
|---|---|
| AA | American Anthropologist |
| BAE-B | Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin |
| JRAI | Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute |
| FMNH-PAS | Field Museum of Natural History, Publications, Anthropological Series |
| PMM-B | Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin |
| SI-MC | Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous Collections |
| SWJA | Southwest Journal of Anthropology |
| UC | University of California Publications |
| -PAAE | American Archaeology and Ethnology |
| -AR | Anthropological Records |
| UCAS-R | University of California Archaeological Survey, Reports |
| UW-PA | University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology |

T:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P. 419, B]



Barrett, S. A.
1917. The Washo Indians. PMM-B 2:1-52.

Bruner, Edward M.
1955. Two Processes of Change in Mandan-Hidatsa Kinship Terminology. AA 57:840-850.

Caudill, William
1949. Psychological Characteristics of Acculturated Wisconsin Ojibwa Children. AA 51:409-427.

Curtis, E. S.
1926. The North American Indian. Vol. 15. The Plimpton Press. Norwood, Mass.

Dangberg, Grace
1927. Washo Texts. UC-PAAE 22:391-443.

Dole, Gertrude E.
MS. The Development of Patterns of Kinship Nomenclature. Ph.D. diss. Univ. Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Eggan, Fred
1937. Historical Changes in the Choctaw Kinship System. AA 39:34-52.

Firth, Raymond
1951. Elements of Social Organization. Watts and Co., London.

1954. Social Organization and Social Change. JRAI 84:1-20.

Fisher, Ronald A., and Frank Yates
1953. Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural, and Medical Research. Oliver and Boyd, Ltd., Edinburgh.

Fortes, Meyer, ed.
1949. Time and Social Structure: an Ashanti Case Study. In Social Structure: Studies Presented to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 417, C]



Freedman, M. B., T. F. Leary, A. G. Ossorio, and H. S. Coffey
1951. The Interpersonal Dimension of Personality. Jour. of Personality, 20:143-161.

Goodenough, Ward H.
1956. Residence Rules. SWJA 12:22-37.

Gough, E. K.
1952. Changing Kinship Usages in the Setting of Political and Economic Change Among the Nayars of Malabar. JRAI 82:71-88.

Hallowell, A. I.
1942. Acculturation Processes and Personality Changes as Indicated by the Rorschach Technique. Rorschach Research Exchange, 6:42-50.

Heizer, Robert F., and Albert B. Elsasser
1953. Some Archaeological Sites and Cultures of the Central Sierra Nevada. UCAS-R 21.

Kroeber, A. L.
1907. The Washo Language of East Central California and Nevada. UC-PAAE 4:251-317.

1917. California Kinship Systems. UC-PAAE 12:339-396.

1925. Handbook of the Indians of California. BAE-B 78. Reprinted (1953) by the California Book Co., Ltd., Berkeley, Calif.

Lowie, Robert H.
1928. A Note on Relationship Terminologies. AA 30:263-267.

1939. Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. UC-PAAE 36:301-352.

Merriam, C. Hart
MS. Notes from the files of the late Dr. C. Hart Merriam, at the Smithsonian Institution. Files now at the Anthropology Museum, Univ. Calif. Berkeley, Calif.

7:Freed F-5 (1952-1967)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P.418, A]



Mooney, James
1928. The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico. SI-MC. Vol. 80, no. 7.

Murdock, George P.
1949. Social Structure. The Macmillan Co., New York.

1955. Changing Emphases in Social Structure. SWJA 11:361-370.

Nett, Betty R.
1952. Historical Changes in the Osage Kinship System. SWJA 8:184-181.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.
1935. Kinship Terminologies in California. AA 37:530-535.

Sapir, Edward
1916. Terms of Relationship and the Levirate. AA 18:327-337.

1939. Central and North American Languages. Encyclopaedia Britannica (14th ed.), 5:138-141. Reprinted (1949) in Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture, and Personality. David G. Mandelbaum, ed. University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif.

Schmitt, Karl and Iva O.
n.d. Wichita Kinship, Past and Present. University Book Exchange, Norman, Oklahoma.

Schneider, David M., and George C. Homans
1955. Kinship Terminology and the American Kinship System. AA 57:1194-1208.

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.418, B]

113

Schneider, David M., and John M. Roberts
1956. Zuñi Kin Terms. Laboratory of Anthropology. Notebook No. 3, Monograph 1. University of Nebraska. Lincoln, Nebraska.

Simpson, J. H.
1876. Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a Direct Wagon-Route from Camp Floyd to Genoa, in Carson Valley, in 1859. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Siskin, Edgar E.
1938. Washo Territory. AA 40:626-627.

MS. The Impact of the Peyote Cult upon Shamanism among the Washo Indians. Ph.D. diss. (1941). Yale Univ. New Haven, Conn.

Spier, Leslie
1925. The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America. UW-PA 1:69-88.

Spoehr, Alexander
1947. Changing Kinship Systems. FMNH-PAS 33:151-235.

Stewart, Omer C.
1941. Culture Element Distributions: XIV, Northern Paiute. UC-AR 4:361-446.

1944. Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism: A Study in Acculturation. UC-PAAE 40:63-142.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20



113

## REFERENCES CITED

KOLINSKI, M.
1936 Suriname music. *In* Melville J. and Frances S. Herskovits, Suriname folk-lore. New York, J. J. Augustin.

KROEBER, A. L.
1907 The Washo language of East Central California and Nevada. University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology 4:251–318.

LOWIE, ROBERT H.
1939 Ethnographic notes on the Washo. University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology 36:301–52.

MCALLESTER, DAVID P.
1949 Peyote music. New York, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, Number 13.
1952 Menomini Peyote music. *In* J. S. Slotkin, Menomini Peyotism. Philadelphia, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. Vol. 42, Pt. 4, pp. 681–700.

NETTL, BRUNO
1953 Observations on meaningless Peyote song texts. Journal of American Folklore 66:161–64.

SISKIN, EDGAR E.
1941 The impact of the Peyote Cult upon shamanism among the Washo Indians. Doctoral dissertation, Yale University.

STEWART, OMER C.
1944 Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism: a study in acculturation. University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology 40:63–142.

central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1859 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

There is some evidence that the Washo may have suffered a drastic decrease in population and some tribal disorganization prior to these events of the 1840's and 50's. Extensive epidemics had raged through the Indian tribes of central California during the first few decades of the 19th century, and Washo legend contains numerous references to the devastation of entire bands by disease before the period of American settlement. There are also legends of early Spanish expeditions, the working of mines in the mountains, and the capture of Washo children. The publication of more of the records of these expeditions may bring to light material of considerable importance with regard to initial Washo contacts with non-Indians.

At the point of first intensive white contact in the late 1840's and early 1850's the Washo also appear to have been under attack from mounted groups of Paiute, and there is every indication that their willingness to cooperate with whites was a response to the need for protection from Paiute raiding. The Washo never adopted the horse for hunting or warfare as did their neighbors directly to the east, and this fact put them at a great disadvantage during the tumultuous years of competition between the newly emergent raiding bands of the Paiute and the white emigrants. That they never surmounted the effects of this initial inferiority of status is borne out by their almost total eclipse in official records during the remainder of the 19th century, and by the neglect of their desperate condition on the part of government and local administrators. This is all the more curious in view of the fact that they appear to have increased in population during the past hundred years, and have maintained viable social groups and cultural continuity.

Though historical documentation and early ethnographic comment concerning the Washo are meager, what resources do exist are of great potential value to the student of their culture. The first phase of the historical record is that marked by the journals and reports of trappers, explorers and emigrants prior to 1850. The initial venture over this section of the Sierras appears to be that of Jedediah Smith and a party of trappers who went into Spanish California by way of Walker Pass in 1825 or 1826. In 1833 Joseph Walker led a party of trappers up the Truckee River to California, and a diary of the trip was kept by Zenas Leonard, a member of the party.

175
177
113

During the 1840's almost every year is marked by one or more American groups passing through Washo country and leaving some small record of their experience and observation. J. B. Bartleson and John Bidwell went over the Sonora Pass in 1841, and in 1843 Joseph Walker successfully ventured the Walker Pass. In the same year Overton Johnson and William Winter came down the Truckee River and described the conditions of the Washo Indians they found dwelling there. John C. Fremont and Kit Carson discovered the Carson Pass in 1844, and William T. Hamilton wrote of his experiences leading a group of trappers to Honey Lake and Lake Tahoe in the same year. The diary of Moses Schallenberger of the Stevens-Townsend party, who wintered near Donner Lake in 1844, is a document of special importance for this period. The following year Fremont came over the Donner Pass, and in 1846 both the Stephan Cooper Party and the ill-fated Donner Party also attempted the pass. The Mormon Battalion crossed over the Sierras into Carson Valley in 1848, cutting a wagon road as they came; in the same year the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed and gold was discovered in California.

A remarkable aspect of these early treks through territory occupied by the Washo is the infrequency of any mention of the inhabitants in the written accounts. An occasional lone Indian or an isolated party of gatherers might be noted, and these are invariably reported as wretchedly poor and frightened. With the exception of the small settlements described by Johnson and Winter on the Truckee River, there is no indication of Washo having been seen in the regular habitation sites that are known to have existed in the valleys through which the American parties traveled. One explanation for this is provided by the Washo themselves whose oral traditions state that the valley people fled to the hills when scouts warned them of the approach of strangers. In the period of increased trapper and emigrant activity it is said that the Washo moved their settlements to more remote sections of these areas and kept constant watch over the movements of the intruders. It was not until the appearance of large groups of emigrants and the opening of trading posts and permanent white settlements that the Washo began to make themselves known. The development of a dependent relation to whites was accelerated by the disruption of their seasonal hunting and gathering activities through alienation of land, cattle grazing, and epidemics during the first decade or two of contact.

The second phase of the historical record is that of the reports of settlers, Indian agents, and travelers from 1850 to about 1877. With the discovery of gold in California emigrant wagon trains increased. The creation of the Territory of Utah in 1850, including much of the present state of Nevada, encouraged Mormon settlement. The trading post at Genoa was known as "Mormon Station" and immigrants began to settle in Carson Valley as well

as in the valleys to the north. The reports of the agents to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs provide brief but significant comment on the Washo during this period. But, as indicated above, the reports were dominated by the agents' preoccupation with the more aggressive and populous Paiute and Shoshone in the eastern sections of Utah Territory. Settler diaries are another source of data, though few of these have been published and they, too, indicate little interest in the Washo, who apparently created few problems for the whites. 175 177 113

The period of professional ethnographic observation of the Washo may be said to have begun with the work of Stephan Powers in the 1870's. His manuscript The Life and Culture of the Washo and Paiutes written in 1875, and his contribution to the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution, Centennial Mission to the Indians of Western Nevada and California in 1876, are the first attempts to present the results of scholarly survey of these people. During the same period A. S. Gatschet made the first formal statement concerning the Washo language in an article Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories published in 1882. His data were derived from vocabularies collected by Powers and others. The pioneering work of John Wesley Powell should be mentioned here, as well, for his efforts to summarize the data on Indian languages and their distributions in his 1891 work, Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico, included all that was known of the Washo language. This was also the period of important historical works such as Thomas Thompson and Albert West's History of Nevada published in 1881, and Hubert Howe Bancroft's History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming published in 1890. These works provide interesting data on early Indian-white relations, and little known events in which the Washo figured. 113

At the turn of the century C. Hart Merriam collected extensive vocabulary and cultural checklists from among the Washo. Though these manuscripts have not been published, they are among the most complete sources of data on the Washo from that period (1904). Dr. Simeon L. Lee, a resident of Carbon Valley and an amateur collector, was active for many years assembling a quantity of Washo technological products which were later donated to the Nevada State Museum. This collection, and the accompanying journal by Dr. Lee, constitute a prime source of information concerning Washo material culture of 60 or more years ago.

In the first few years of the 1900's the extremely vigorous investigations of California and Great Basin Indians initiated by A. L. Kroeber and R. H. Lowie resulted in increased ethnographic knowledge about the Washo. Roland B. Dixon's study of the Maidu included materials concerning their relations with the Washo and the delineation of territories. His articles, in collaboration with Kroeber, on the languages of California included the Washo,

and anticipated Kroeber's formal analysis of Washo in 1907, The Washo Language of East Central California. S. A. Barrett worked among the Miwok, the immediate western neighbors of the Washo, during the first decade of the 1900's. In 1917 he published the first ethnographic monograph on Washo culture, The Washo Indians. About the same time Edward Sapir published two definitive articles, The Status of Washo, and Supplementary Note on Salinan and Washo. In 1926 Lowie turned his attention briefly from the Shoshone, Ute and Southern Paiute to study the Washo. His Ethnographic Notes on the Washo appeared in 1939. An extensive collection of Washo myths has not yet been published. Grace Dangberg's Washo Texts appeared in 1927, and her field notes gathered over the many years of her residence in Carson Valley are a major ethnographic resource. 113

Though the published materials listed above constitute a valuable accumulation of data about the Washo people and their culture, no part of it represents the result of intensive field work or continuous interest in a particular group in the same sense that many other tribes in California or the Great Basin have been studied. In the 1930's two ethnologists worked for extended periods among the Washo directing special attention to the newly introduced Peyote Cult and to problems of acculturation. Omer Stewart's monograph, Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism: A Study in Acculturation, is an important contribution to studies of the diffusion of this cult, and is a classic description of its introduction among the Washo while the investigator was in the field. His culture element lists for Northern Paiute, Washo, and Achomawi were completed about this time and, along with his excellent survey, The Northern Paiute Bands, provide some of the best and most complete data available for the area. Edgar Siskin's dissertation, The Impact of the Peyote Cult upon Shamanism among the Washo Indians, has been widely appealed to by recent students of the Washo for its detailed data concerning the last of the Washo shamans and its cogent analysis of the role of the Peyotists in the dramatic period of culture change in the late 1930's. [114]

No further field work or publication was carried out with regard to the Washo until the 1950's. During the past decade, important archeologic investigations have been undertaken in the region by Robert F. Heizer, Albert B. Elsasser, Martin A. Baumhoff, and others. Francis A. Riddell's archeologic and ethnologic work in the Honey Lake region has provided numerous data concerning the relations of the northern Washo and adjacent Paiute bands. During the same period William H. Jacobsen, Jr., gathered extensive linguistic materials toward a new analysis of the Washo language.

The collection of papers in the present volume represents all of the students who have made any ethnologic investigation among the Washo since 1952. Though some of the authors have published elsewhere on the group, 119 128

# A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1955-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 363-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

## Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

## Bibliography


Barrett, Samuel A.
1917 The Washo Indians. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-52.

Curtis, Edward S.
1926 The North American Indian, Vol. 15. The Plimpton Press, Norwood, Mass.

Freed, Stanley A.
1960 Changing Washo Kinship. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 14, No. 6, pp. 349-418.

Jacobsen, William H., Jr.
1958 Washo and Karok: An Approach to Comparative Hokan. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 195-212.

Kroeber, Alfred L.
1907 The Washo Language of East Central California and Nevada. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 4, No. 5, pp. 251-318.

1917 California Kinship Systems. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 12, No. 9, pp. 339-96.

Lowie, Robert H.
1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 5, pp. 301-352.

Murdock, George P.
1949 Social Structure. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Siskin, Edgar E.
1941 The Impact of the Peyote Cult upon Shamanism among the Washo Indians. Ph. D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven.

These conclusions are highly tentative because of the few ceremonies involved in the analysis. They are only suggestions about possibly significant factors in Washo acculturation, and their validity will be determined by examining the course of acculturation in other simple hunting-gathering tribes of western North America.

---

Notes

1. This paper is based upon data collected during about six months of field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956, and part of the winter of 1956-57. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada. We wish to thank the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for financial assistance.

2. For a brief description of the war dances see Lowie, 1939, 329-30, and Freed, 1960, 353.

3. Since we made our last field trip to the Washo Indians in 1956-57, we have learned that this shaman has died.

## Bibliography

● 113

Barrett, Samuel A.
1917 The Washo Indians. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-52.

Cartwright, Willena D.
1955 A Washo Girl's Puberty Ceremony. Proceedings of the Thirtieth International Congress of Americanists, pp. 136-42.

Curtis, Edward S.
1926 The North American Indian, Vol. 15. The Plimpton Press, Norwood, Mass.

Freed, Stanley A.
1960 Changing Washo Kinship. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 14, No. 6, pp. 349-418.

Freed, Stanley A., and Ruth S. Freed
1963 A Configuration of Aboriginal Washo Culture. (In this volume)

Lowie, Robert H.
1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 5, pp. 301-52.

Mooney, James
1928 The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 80, No. 7.

Stewart, Omer C.
1941 Culture Element Distributions: XIV, Northern Paiute. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 361-446.

## Bibliography

Caudill, William
1949 Psychological Characteristics of Acculturated Wisconsin Ojibwa Children. American Anthropologist, Vol. 51, pp. 409-27.

Freed, Stanley A.
1960 Changing Washo Kinship. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 14, No. 6, pp. 349-418.

Hallowell, A. Irving
1942 Acculturation Processes and Personality Changes as Indicated by the Rorschach Technique. Rorschach Research Exchange, Vol. 6, pp. 42-50.

Lowie, Robert H.
1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 5, pp. 301-52.

Merriam, Alan P., and Warren L. d'Azevedo
1957 Washo Peyote Songs. American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 615-41.

Mooney, James
1928 The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 80, No. 7.

Nadel, S. F.
1951 The Foundations of Social Anthropology. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill.

Park, Willard Z.
1938 Shamanism in Western North America: A Study in Cultural Relationships. Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 2.

Stewart, Omer C.
1941 Culture Element Distributions: XIV, Northern Paiute. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 361-446.



113

● 113

1944 Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism: A Study in Acculturation. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 63-142.

Whiting, Beatrice B.
1950 Paiute Sorcery. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 15.

## Bibliography

Dollard, J., et al
1939 Frustration and Aggression. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Downs, James F.
1961 Washo Religion. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 16, No. 9.

Eggan, Dorothy
1950 The General Problem of Hopi Adjustment. In Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, C. Kluckhohn and H. A. Murray (Eds.), pp. 220-35. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Goldfrank, Esther S.
1945 Socialization, Personality, and the Structure of Pueblo Society. American Anthropologist, Vol. 47, No. 4, pp. 516-39.

Hallowell, A. Irving
1955 Aggression in Saulteaux Society. In Culture and Experience, pp. 277-90. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Kluckhohn, Clyde
1944 Navaho Witchcraft. Peabody Museum Papers, Vol. 22, No. 2.

Lowie, Robert H.
1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 5.

Mead, Margaret
1942 Educative Effects of Social Environment as Disclosed by Studies of Primitive Societies. In Environment and Education (Supplementary Educational Monographs, No. 54), pp. 48-61.

Merriam, Alan P., and Warren L. d'Azevedo
1957 Washo Peyote Songs. American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 615-41.

Miller, Neal E.
1941 The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis. Psychological Review, Vol. 48, pp. 337-42.

● 113

Nadel, S. F.
1952 Witchcraft in Four African Societies: An Essay in Comparison. American Anthropologist, Vol. 54, No. 1, pp. 18-29.

Scotch, Norman A.
1957 A Methodological Model for the Anthropological Study of Disease: Essential Hypertension in Three Societies. Ph. D dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston.

Siskin, Edgar E.
1941 The Impact of the Peyote Cult upon Shamanism among the Washo Indians. Ph. D dissertation, Yale University, New Haven.

Spiro, M. E.
1950 The Problem of Aggression in a South Sea Culture. Ph. D dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston.

Stewart, Omer C.
1944 Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 40, No. 3.

## Notes

114

1. This paper is based on materials appearing in the doctoral dissertation of the senior author (An Anthropological Study of Essential Hypertension in Three Societies, Northwestern University, 1957). The authors wish to thank the Graduate School, Northwestern University and the Cardiovascular Research Department of the Michael Reese Hospital, Chicago, for generous financial support which made the field work on which this paper is based possible. Thanks are due for the advice and support of Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, Professor M. J. Herskovits and Professor William Bascom.

122

---

## Bibliography

113

Scotch, Norman A.

1957 An Anthropological Study of Essential Hypertension in Three Societies. Ph. D dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston.

1960 A Preliminary Report on the Relation of Sociocultural Factors to Hypertension among the Zulu. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, Vol. 84, Art. 17, pp. 1000-9.

Voget, Fred W.

1956 The American Indian in Transition: Reformation and Accommodation. American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 249-63.

## Bibliography

● 113

Barrett, Samuel A.
1917 The Washo Indians. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1.

Baumhoff, M. A., Robert F. Heizer and Albert B. Elsasser
1958 The Lagomarsino Petroglyph Group (Site 26-St-1) Near Virginia City, Nevada. University of California Archaeological Survey Reports, No. 43, Pt. 2.

Baumhoff, M. A., and J. S. Bryne
1959 Desert Side-Notched Points as the Time Marker in California. University of California Archaeological Survey Reports, No. 48.

d'Azevedo, Warren L.
1956 Washo Place Names. MS.

Elsasser, Albert B.
1960 The Archaeology of the Sierra Nevada. University of California Archaeological Survey Reports, No. 51.

Fairfield, Asa M.
1916 Pioneer History of Lassen County, California.

Freed, Stanley A.
1954 Washo Habitation Sites in the Lake Tahoe Area. MS, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Gifford, Edward W.
1926 Californian Anthropometry. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 22, No. 2.

Grosscup, Gordon L.
1954 Northern Paiute Archaeology. MS.

Heizer, Robert F., and Albert B. Elsasser
1953 Some Archaeological Sites and Cultures of the Central Sierra Nevada. University of California Archaeological Survey Reports, No. 21.

Heizer, Robert F., and M. A. Baumhoff
1959 Great Basin Petroglyphs and Prehistoric Game Trails. Science, Vol. 129, No. 3353.

Kennedy, K. A. R.
1959 The Aboriginal Population of the Great Basin. University of California Archaeological Survey Reports, No. 45.

Kroeber, A. L.
1925 Handbook of the Indians of California. Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 78.

1955 Linguistic Time Depths So Far and Their Meaning. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 21, No. 2.

1958 Sign Language Inquiry. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 24, No. 1.

Lamb, Sydney M.
1958 Linguistic Prehistory in the Great Basin. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 24, No. 2.

Lowie, Robert H.
1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. University of California Publication in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 5, pp. 301-52.

Merriam, A. P., and Warren L. d'Azevedo
1957 Washo Peyote Songs. American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 615-41.

Payen, L. Arthur
1959 Petroglyphs of Sacramento and Adjoining Counties, California. University of California Archaeological Survey Reports, No. 48.

Schellbach, Louis
1927 A Bone Implement of the Washo, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.Indian Notes, Vol. 4, pp. 44-403.

Steward, Julian
1929 Petroglyphs of California and Adjoining States. University of California Publication in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 24, No. 2.

Stewart, Omer C.
1941 Culture Element Distributions: XIV, Northern Paiute. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 361-446.

113

## Notes

115

1. Grace Dangberg's informants were Agnes Pete, Susie Dick, Manta, and Dave Cheney. The author's principal informants were Bertha Holbrook, Clara Frank, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada, and Roy James from Woodfords, California.

2. From Indian Balsam, Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert, personal communication.

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert, personal communication.

4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., personal communication.

5. Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

6. Literally "water sweet potatoes," Cicuta douglasii. (Juanita Schubert, personal communication.)

## Bibliography

113

Atwater, Jane
1954 Washo Indians. Nevada State Journal, January 31, 1954.

Dangberg, Grace
1919 Washo Field Notes. MS, Minden, Nevada.

Lowie, Robert H.
1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 5, pp. 301-52.

Stewart, Omer C.
1941 Culture Element Distributions: XIV, Northern Paiute. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 361-446.

## Bibliography

113

Allen, J. A.
1877 The History of the American Bison. Office of the Geological Survey of the Territories, Washington.

Angel, M. (Ed.)
1958 Reproduction of Thompson and West's History of Nevada, 1881. Howell-North, Berkeley.

Downs, James F.
1961a The Effect of Animal Husbandry on Two American Indian Tribes. Ph. D dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

1961b Washo Religion. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 16, No. 9.

de Angulo, Jaime
1950 Indians in Overalls. Hudson Review, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 327-77.

Ewers, John C.
1955 The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin, No. 159.

Freed, Stanley A.
1960 Changing Washo Kinship. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 14, No. 6, pp. 349-418.

Garretson, M. S.
1938 The American Bison. New York Zoological Society, New York.

Gayton, A. H.
1930 The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South-Central California. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 28, No. 3.

Haines, F. D.
1940 Western Limits of Buffalo Range. Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 389-98.

Hall, E. R.
1946 Mammals of Nevada. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Heizer, Robert F., and Albert Elsasser
1953 Some Archaeological Sites and Cultures of the Central Sierra Nevada. University of California Archaeological Survey Reports, No. 21, pp 1-42.

Hornaday, W. T.
1887 The Extermination of the American Bison. Report of the United States National Museum for 1887.

Kroeber, Alfred L.
1925 Handbook of the Indians of California. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin, No. 78.

Lowie, Robert H.
1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 5, pp. 301-52.

Mooney, James
1896 The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890. Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report, No. 14.

Roe, Frank G.
1951 The North American Buffalo; a Critical Study of the Species in in the Wild State. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Riddell, Francis A.
1952 The Recent Occurrence of Bison in Northeastern California. American Antiquity, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 178-9.

Seton, Ernest T.
1928 The Lives of Game Animals. 4 vols. Garden City.

Spier, Leslie
1928 Havasupai Ethnography. American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers, Vol. 29, Pt. 3.

1929 Problems Arising from the Cultural Position of the Havasupai. American Anthropologist, Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 213-22.

Steward, Julian A.
1937 Ancient Caves of the Great Salt Lake Region. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin, No. 116.

1938 Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin, No. 120.

1955 Theory of Culture Change. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Stewart, Omer C.
1941 Culture Element Distributions: XIV, Northern Paiute. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 361-446.

113

## Bibliography


Cook, Sherborne F.

1941 The Mechanism and Extent of Dietary Adaptation among Certain Groups of California and Nevada Indians. Ibero-Americana, Vol. 18.

1960 Colonial Expeditions to the Interior of California's Central Valley, 1800-1820. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 16, pp. 239-92.

Downs, James F.

1960 Domestication: An Examination of the Changing Relationships between Man and Animals. Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 22, pp. 18-67.

1961a The Effect of Animal Husbandry on Two North American Indian Tribes. Ph. D dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

1961b Washo Religion. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 16, No. 9, pp. 365-85.

1961c The Origin and Spread of Riding in the Near East and Central Asia. American Anthropologist, Vol. 63, No. 6, pp. 1193-1203.

de Angulo, Jaime

1950 Indians in Overalls. Hudson Review, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 327-77. New York.

Ewers, John C.

1955 The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin, No. 159.

Lowie, Robert H.

1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, pp. 301-52.

Steward, Julian

1955 Theory of Culture Change. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

● 113 Numerous incidents reported in the Press have been cited. These are drawn from editions of the following newspapers: Carson Valley Courier-Record, Genoa Courier and the Genoa Record. Copies of these newspapers published from 1858 to date are on file in the office of the County Clerk, Minden, Douglas County, Nevada. A domestic accident destroyed the notes, making it impossible to supply more precise bibliographic information.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

# AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WASHO SOURCES

by Warren L. d'Azevedo and John A. Price

Two major objectives have guided the preparation of this bibliography: (1) systematization of the sources of information concerning a little known group of the western Great Basin, and (2) demonstration of the value of intensive bibliographic research in disclosing the wide range of written comment and data that frequently remains unexamined in the course of standard ethnographic work. Though this bibliography can make no claim to exhaustive coverage, it does represent the product of a number of years of consistent interest in a specific people, and will prove to be a research aid of considerable utility for those conducting anthropological investigation in the area.

No attempt has been made to present complete annotation for all entries, or to evaluate them according to a scale of worth. When a work is sufficiently well known, or a title provides adequate description of content, editorial comment has not been added. This is also true of a number of entries included for the general background they afford regarding history and characteristics of the region the Washo have inhabited. Whenever the Washo have been referred to in significant context, however, note is made of this fact. Much of the annotation reflects the specialized interests of the compilers insofar as the material has been collected in connection with particular research projects over a period of time. For this reason, even the more lengthy and detailed descriptions can do no more than suggest the full value of the respective works as sources of data for other students.

The bibliography has been organized into five categories. The section entitled Anthropology contains sources that provide data concerning the ethnology, language, archeology, and anthropometry of the Washo. A following section of Unpublished materials has been included as a convenient guide to manuscripts, field notes and collections. The section on History comprises works in which the Washo are discussed in the context of early historical relations of the region or which offer evidence pertinent to a definition of their changing social milieu. The entries under Ecology have been found to be the most useful references on the physiographic and biological aspects of the area. The final section of General materials includes a wide variety of works concerning peoples adjacent to the Washo, or works that are especially significant for comparative purposes. Also included are a number of entries that were not appropriate to any of the other categories, but contain material of peripheral interest.

128

The compilers wish to acknowledge the contributions of Stanely A. Freed, Omer C. Stewart and Gordon L. Grosscup, who generously shared the results of their own scholarship during initial preparation of this bibliography. The many hours of painstaking assistance provided at various times by Kay Sweeney and James F. Downs are also gratefully noted. Financial aid from the Bollingen Foundation and the University of Utah Faculty Research Fund has supported much of the basic research of which this bibliography is, in part, a result.

122

113

## Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AA | American Anthropologist. |
| BAE-AR | Bureau of American Ethnology - Annual Report. |
| BAE-B | Bureau of American Ethnology - Bulletin. |
| IJAL | International Journal of American Linguistics. |
| JAFL | Journal of American Folk Lore. |
| UC-AR | University of California Anthropological Records. |
| UCAS-R | University of California Archaeological Survey Reports. |
| UCPAAE | University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. |

## ANTHROPOLOGY


Anonymous

1948 The Basketry of Dat-So-La-Lee. The Nevada Magazine, Vol. 3, No. 9, pp. 8-9. Minden, Nevada.

Contains photographs and a short text concerning the famous Washo basket maker. Also includes a Lovelock Cave basket detail.

1951, 1956 Pioneer Nevada. Harold's Club, Reno, Nevada. Vols. I and II.

A collection of about 350 myths, and historical anecdotes, some Washo.

Atwater, Jane

1954 Washo Indians. Nevada State Journal, January 31, 1954.

Avery, B. P.

1873 Chips from an Indian Workshop. Overland Monthly, Vol. 2, No. 6, pp. 489-93. Reprinted in Heizer and Elsasser, 1953 (q.v.), UCAS-R, No. 21, pp. 33-6.

Ethnographic, archeological, and other comments concerning the Sierra Nevada, particularly in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe

1883 The Native Races. The Wild Tribes. The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 1. The History Co., San Francisco.

See pp. 423, 469 for location of Washo; p. 466 for location of Paiute.

1883 The Native Races. Myths and Languages. The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 3. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

See pp. 89-90 for a Washo flood myth; p. 170 for "Nevada" idea of a great Spirit; pp. 524-5 for "Nevada" ideas on life after death; p. 568 lists Washo as "Utah"-speaking members of the "Shoshones."

A3 Barrett, Samuel Alfred

1908 The Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians. UCPAAE, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 333-68.

See pp. 347-9 for information on "Washo territory" on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada in the vicinity of Big Trees.

1917 The Washo Indians. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-52.

Predominantly concerned with material culture, but includes material on land use, social organization and tribal location. Major ethnographic source.

Barrett, Samuel A., and Edward W. Gifford

1933 Miwok Material Culture. Publications of the Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bull. 2, No. 4.

Includes notes on trade with the Washo.

Baumhoff, M. A., R. F. Heizer and A. B. Elsasser

1958 The Lagomarsino Petroglyph Group (Site 26-St-1) Near Virginia City, Nevada. UCAS-R, No. 43, Pt. 2, pp. 1-17.

P. 2 indicates lack of Washo or Paiute knowledge of the origin of the petroglyphs.

Beals, Ralph L.

1933 Ethnology of the Nisenan. UCPAAE, Vol. 31, No. 6, pp. 335-414.

P. 336 contains a map of Nisenan territory. Mentions wars caused by Washo trespass in acorn gathering grounds.

Bennyhoff, James A.

1958 A Trial Correlation of Culture and Chronology. In "Current Views on Great Basin Archaeology," UCAS-R, No. 42, pp. 1-112.

Includes a tentative chronology for Martis (2500 B.C. -- A.D. 500) and Kings Beach (A.D. 1000 -- Washo and Maidu).

113

Birdsell, Joseph B.
1951 The Problem of the Early Peopling of the Americas as Viewed from Asia. In The Physical Anthropology of the American Indian, William S. Laughlin (Ed.), pp. 1-68.

On pp. 48-9 Washo are included with Pomo, Karok, Shasta, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Yana and other peoples tentatively classified as Hokan-speaking who are "notable for absence of Ainu-like traits" among Great Basin and California groups.

Bright, William
1960 Animals of Acculturation in the California Indian Languages. University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 215-46.

Contains numerous Washo terms taken from published and unpublished sources.

Cartwright, William D.
1952 A Washo Girl's Puberty Ceremony. Proceedings of the Thirtieth International Congress of Americanists, pp. 136-42. London.

(See also "Peyote," pp. 143-8 of the same volume.)

Cohn, C. Amy
1909 Arts and Crafts of the Nevada Indians. Nevada Historical Society Biannual Report, Vol. 1, pp. 75-8.

P. 77 includes war with the Paiutes and the technique of basket making used by Dat-So-La-Lee.

Cook, Sherborne F.
1941 The Mechanism and Extent of Dietary Adaptation among Certain Groups of California and Nevada Indians. Ibero-Americana, Vol. 18, pp. 1-58.

Washo food preferences and practice of "begging" for food.

Culin, Stewart
1907 Games of the North American Indians. BAE-AR, Vol. 24, No. 199.

Includes Hudson's notes on Washo games.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

113

Curtis, Edward S.
1926 The North American Indian, Vol. 15. Plimpton Press, Norwood, Mass. (In 20 vols. published from 1907-1930.)

For location of Washo see pp. 57, 89; population, pp. 91-2; war, pp. 67, 76, 90, 96; land use, pp. 94-5; political organization, p. 95. Also see pp. 123-56 for myths of Mono, Paviotso and Washo; pp. 167-72 for ethnographic summaries; pp. 182-92 for vocabularies.

Dangberg, Grace
1927 Washo Texts. UCPAAE, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 391-443.

Daugherty, Richard D.
1954 Notes and News: Pacific Coast. American Antiquity, Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 310.

Passing reference to UCAS ethnographic work with Washo and the connection between Kings Beach complex and Washo.

Davis, James T.
1961 Trade Routes and Economic Exchange among the Indians of California. UCAS-R, No. 54.

Washo trade items in exchange with neighboring groups, p. 42; two maps of trade routes, p. 71 ff.

DeWitt-Warr, Vermille
1913 Destitute Nevada Indians. In The History of Nevada, Sam P. Davis (Ed.), pp. 132-61.

Includes a list of names of Washo people prior to 1913 and the places they lived. Quotes from an 1861 report by the Indian Agent, Warren Wasson, to Governor Nye.

Dixon, Roland B.
1902 Maidu Myths. American Museum of Natural History Bulletin, Vol. 17, Pt. 11, pp. 33-118.

See pp. 33-4 for information on Washo-Maidu contact.

113

1905 The Northern Maidu. American Museum of Natural History Bulletin, Vol. 17, Pt. 3, pp. 119-346. (The Huntington California Expedition.)

Pp. 124-5 give location of Washo, Washo land use and location of Maidu (with map); Washo-Maidu trade, p. 301.

Dixon, Roland B., and Alfred L. Kroeber

1903 The Native Languages of California. AA, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 1-26.

Includes Washo in a survey of linguistic characteristics.

1907 Numeral Systems of the Languages of California. AA, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 663-90.

Includes Washo in a survey of numeral systems.

1919 Linguistic Families of California. UCPAAE, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 47-118.

Pp. 104-12 present evidence for including Washo in the Hokan family.

Downs, James F.

1961 Washo Religion. UC-AR, Vol. 16, No. 9.

A valuable recent study of Washo religious beliefs and ritual.

1961 Effect of Animal Husbandry on Two American Indian Tribes: Washo and Navaho. Ph.D dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

This work contrasts the economy, reaction to white contact and change in these two Indian groups.

Driver, Harold E.

1941 Culture Element Distributions: XVI, Girl's Puberty Rites in Western North America. UC-AR, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 21-90.

Includes Washo form of this rite from Stewart's (1941) data in a general statistical study.

113 Driver, Harold E., and William C. Massey
1957 Comparative Studies of North American Indians. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s., Vol. 47, Pt. 3, pp. 165-456.

Brief comparison of Washo "moieties" with those of the Pomo, Mono and Eastern Yokuts, p. 411.

DuBois, Cora
1939 The 1870 Ghost Dance. UC-AR, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 1-151.

See p. 1.

Eichler, Lillian
1924 The Customs of Mankind. Doubleday, Page and Co., New York, N. Y.

Description of Washo girl's puberty dance, pp. 172-73.

Elsasser, Albert B.
1960 The Archaeology of the Sierra Nevada in California and Nevada. UCAS-R, No. 51, pp. 1-93.

A major work on archeology in the Washo area; reviews the Martis-Kings Beach sequence and describes three excavated Martis complex sites. Includes photographs of 171 artifacts (mostly stone points) from Washo territory; extensive bibliography.

Freed, Stanley A.
1960 Changing Washo Kinship. UC-AR, Vol. 14, No. 6, pp. 349-418.

A detailed study of Washo kinship behavior and changing terminology. An outstanding study of Washo social organization and of the ethnology of the western Great Basin.

Gatschet, A. S.
1882 Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories. Magazine of American History, Vol. 8, pp. 254-63.

One of the earlier statements about the Washo language. Location of the Washo and discussion of local Indian-white relations, p. 259.

1890 Ethnographic Sketch of the Klamath People. Contributions to North American Ethnography, Vol. 2, Pt. 1. 113 ●

Location of Washo boundary, p. xlv.

Gifford, Edward W.

1922 California Kinship Terminologies. UCPAAE, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 1-285.

Mono kinship terminologies, pp. 45-52; grandparent and cousin terms of Washo and Paviotso, pp. 130, 163.

1926 Californian Anthropometry. UCPAAE, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 217-390.

Includes the measurement and description of 16 living individuals of purported Washo descent and several others of mixed Washo descent, in a general survey and classification of California anthropometric types.

1951 California Indian Physical Types. In The California Indian: A Source Book, R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple (Eds.), pp. 82-7. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Gordon, G. B.

1919 The Richard Wain Meirs Collection. The Museum Journal, Vol. 10, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 28-8.

Illustrates Washo baskets with comments on their raw materials and designs. Also states the location and population of Washo.

Haglund, E. A., et al.

1961 The Washoe, Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Nevada, Nevada Department of Education, Carson City, Nevada.

A summary of the history, education, and health of the Nevada Indians.

Heizer, Robert F.

1958 Aboriginal California and Great Basin Cartography. UCAS-R, No. 41, Paper 63, pp. 1-9.

● 113 Heizer, Robert F., and Albert B. Elsasser
1953 Some Archaeological Sites and Cultures of the Central Sierra Nevada. UCAS-R, No. 21, pp. 1-42.

An important archeological statement on Washo territory. Describes pre-Washo (Martis) and Washo (Kings Beach) archeological complexes from a brief survey in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Appendices: Boatstones in California; High Altitude Occupation in the Yosemite Region, by J. A. Bennyhoff; Chips from an Indian Workshop, by B. P. Avery; Ethnographic Notes on Washo Culture, S. L. Lee.

Hinkle, George, and Bliss Hinkle
1949 Sierra-Nevada Lakes. The American Lake Series. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis.

See pp. 48, 114, 134-7, 256-62, 270-1 for references to Washo.

Hodge, Frederick Webb (Ed.)
1910 Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. BAE-B, No. 30, Vol. 2.

Location of Washo and Washo "war" with the Paiutes, p. 920.

Jacobsen, William H., Jr.
1958 Washo and Karok: An Approach to Comparative Hokan. IJAL, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 195-212.

James, George Wharton
1902 Indian Basketry. 2nd ed., Henry Malkan, New York, N. Y.

Brief mention of Paiute and Washo basketry, especially that of Dat-So-La-Lee.

1903 Basket Makers of California at Work. The Basket, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 2-16. Pasadena, California.

Intrusion of Paiutes into California, Washo basketry, pp. 6-8. Includes a few illustrations of Washo baskets.

1921 The Lake of the Sky, Lake Tahoe. 2nd ed., Radiant Life Press, Pasadena, California. Reprinted in 1956 by Powner Co., Chicago, Ill.

Pp. 26-71 claims the use of rock "inscriptions" as boundary markers by the Washo and Paiute; supposed Paiute prohibition of Washo use of horses; also see pp. 111-12 and pp. 191-2 for mention of Washo. 113

Kennedy, K. A. R.

1959 The Aboriginal Population of the Great Basin. UCAS-R, No. 45, pp. 1-84.

A survey of Great Basin anthropometry and a comparison with peripheral areas; includes Gifford's Washo sample.

Klimek, Stanislaw

1935 Culture Element Distributions: I, The Structure of California Indian Culture. UCPAAE, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 1-70.

Includes Washo in a survey of languages, coefficients of cultural similarity, and historical depth.

Kroeber, Alfred Louis

1907 The Washo Language of East Central California and Nevada. UCPAAE, Vol. 4, No. 5, pp. 251-318.

A morphological sketch of Washo language. Location of Washo, pp. 252-3; location of neighbors, p. 253; narrative of a Washo-Paiute battle while hunting deer, pp. 302-3.

1908 On the Evidences of the Occupation of Certain Regions by the Miwok Indians. UCPAAE, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 369-80.

Miwok-Washo boundary problem, p. 376.

1916 California Place Names of Indian Origin. UCPAAE, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 31-69.

Lake Tahoe, p. 60, and Tallac, p. 61, mentioned as Washo.

1917 California Kinship Systems. UCPAAE, Vol. 12, No. 9, pp. 339-96.

Washo discussed, pp. 382-5.

1920 Games of the California Indians. AA, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 272-7.

● 113

Mentions Washo double ball game, and the regular and four stick hand game.

1922 Elements of Culture in Native California. UCPAAE, Vol. 13, No. 8, pp. 259-328.

Washo noted as having the Plains form of sweat house, cremation, counting by 5's and 10's, the Ghost Dance of 1890, and the girl's ceremony at adolescence with singing and dancing.

1947 Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America. UCPAAE, Vol. 38, pp. 1-242.

Washo placement in areas, territory size, population density, pp. 53, 101, 207, 137.

1953 Handbook of the Indians of California. California Book Company, Berkeley. (Photolithographic facsimile of the work published in 1925 as BAE-B, No. 78.)

Brief summary of Washo ethnology (affiliations, habitat, numbers, culture, basketry, dress and implements, buildings, religion and society) pp. 569-73; comparison of girls' puberty ceremony among Washo and California Indians, pp. 864-5; ritual numbers and numerical system, p. 877; Washo population in California, pp. 883, 886.

1955 Linguistic Time Depths So Far and Their Meaning. IJAL, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 91-104.

Includes an evaluation of the glottochronology of the Hokan superstock which shows Washo as off the Pacific axis of Hokan languages and "split off from every other computed Hokan language for 45 C or more."

1957 Ethnographic Interpretations 1-6. UCPAAE, Vol. 47, No. 2, pp. 191-234.

See pp. 218-25 for "California Indian Population About 1910."

Lee, Simeon Lemuel

1934 Dr. S. L. Lee Collection. Nevada State Printing Office, Carson City, Nevada.

113

Includes some notes and anecdotes from the Washo, Shoshoni and Southern and Northern Paiute from Lee's articles and diary, along with an anonymous biography of Dr. Lee, a list of his collections, and a section entitled "Indian Stories and Legends."

Littlejohn, Hugh W.
1929 A Northeastern Californian Dug-Out Canoe. AA, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 777-9.

Warfare between Northeastern Maidu and Washo, p. 778.

Lowie, Robert H.
1923 The Cultural Connection of Californian and Plateau Shoshonean Tribes. UCPAAE, Vol. 20, pp. 143-56.

See pp. 154-5 for brief note on Washo kinship terms, and a tale of the Weasel brothers with a Shoshoni-Washo parallel.

1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. UCPAAE, Vol. 36, No. 5, pp. 301-52.

A brief but major ethnographic source on the Washo. Particularly useful for material culture, myths, and general social and religious practices.

Macdonald, Claire
1929 Lake Tahoe, California. William E. Rudge, Mt. Vernon, New York. (privately printed)

Photograph of Washo basketmaker, Susie, and seven baskets, p. 24.

MacGregor, Gordon
1936 Washo Indians of the Sacramento Jurisdiction. Office of Indian Affairs, Applied Anthropology Unit, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C. (8 pp. mimeographed)

Problems of and recommendations concerning the Woodfords, Alpine County, California, community of the Washo in 1936.

Mallery, Garrick
1893 Picture-Writing of the American Indians. BAE-AR, No. 10, 1888-1889, pp. 1-822.

• 113

Includes a number of petroglyph sites in western Nevada; Pyramid Lake, Reno, Truckee River, Carson River, Hopkins Soda Springs, Fallon, Virginia City, etc. P. 93 reads "This region has been roamed over by the Washo Indians from a remote period, but none of them know anything of these works."

Mason, Otis T.

1904 Aboriginal American Basketry: Studies in a Textile Art without Machinery. United States National Museum, Annual Report for 1902, Vol. 1, pp. 171-784; Vol. 2, Pls. 1-248.

Washo basketry, Vol. 1, pp. 466-7; Vol. 2, plates.

McAllester, David P.

1949 Peyote Music. Viking Fund Publication in Anthropology, No. 13, pp. 1-104.

Discussion of Washo Peyote songs, pp. 54-6; text and scores of Washo Peyote songs, Appendix, pp. 31-40.

Merriam, Alam P., and Warren L. d'Azevedo

1957 Washo Peyote Songs. AA, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 615-41.

Washo Peyotism, the instruments and criteria of musical performance, and an analysis of the Peyote song-cycles.

Merriam, C. Hart

1905 The Indian Population of California. AA, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 594-606.

Washo mentioned in population estimate for 1834.

1907 Distribution and Classification of the Mewan Stock. AA, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 338-57.

Map on p. 338 shows North Miwok at Grizzley Flats; Washo boundary, p. 334.

1955 Studies of California Indians. Department of Anthropology, University of California (Ed.). University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

113

Brief mentions of Washo basketry, trade, and territory, pp. 50, 62, 122, 154. See pp. 71-6 for "The Mono Paiute," pp. 66-70 for "The Mewuk."

Mooney, James

1896 The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890. BAE-AR, No. 14, 1892-1893, Pt. 2.

Brief mentions of Washo and Northern Paiute throughout. Western Nevada origin of Ghost Dance, pp. 701-4, 764-76; Washo population and distribution, p. 804; contradictory population and distribution figures, pp. 1031-2. Also Washo-Paiute relations, Washo subsistence activity, impact of whites.

1928 The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 80, No. 7.

Washo population for 1845 and 1907, p. 20. Mentions extensive epidemics, wars, and large-scale murders and massacres decimating the Indian population between 1845 and 1869.

Murphey, Edith Van Allen

1959 Indian Uses of Native Plants.

Contains some Washo names and uses of plants in a sketchy ethnobotanical report on Nevada.

Myles, M. T.

1930 Washo Baskets. Overland Monthly, No. 88, p. 265.

Olmsted, D. L.

1959 Palaihnihan and Shasta III: Dorsal Stops. Language, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 637-44.

Contains Washo words taken from Jacobsen, 1958, and Kroeber, 1907.

Park, Willard Z.

1938 The Organization and Habitat of Paviotso Bands. In "Tribal Distributions in the Great Basin," AA, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 622-6.

Location of Paviotso and Washo, Washo-Paviotso wars over territory, and Paviotso land use and ownership.

n3

1941 Culture Succession in the Great Basin. In Language, Culture, and Personality, Leslie Spier (Ed.), pp. 180-203.

Deals with the nature and diffusion of dances in the Great Basin including Paviotso, Washo, Shoshone and South Paiute.

Payen, L. Arthur
1959 Petroglyphs of Sacramento and Adjoining Counties, California. UCAS-R, No. 48, pp. 66-83.

Pettitt, George A.
1946 Primitive Education in North America. UCPAAE, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 1-182.

See p. 62 for Washo use of nicknames.

Powell, John Wesley
1891 Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico. BAE-AR, No. 7.

See p. 131 for discussion of "Washo language family."

Powers, Stephan
1875 The Life and Culture of the Washo and Paiutes. Unpublished MS, Bureau of American Ethnology, catalog no. 808.

See p. 1.

1876 Centennial Mission to the Indians of Western Nevada and California. Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report, pp. 449-60.

Location and population of Washo, Paiutes and Mono, Washo-Paiute war, Paiute pinenut locations and rules of trespass, pp. 452-3.

Riddell, Francis A.
1960 Honey Lake Paiute Ethnography. Nevada State Museum, Anthropological Papers, No. 4.

Numerous references to Washo use of Honey Lake area; Washo ethnogeographic notes, p. 83.

Royce, Charles C.
1896-7 Indian Land Cessions in the U.S. BAE-AR, No. 18, Pt. 2, pp. 521-949, and maps.

Location of Washo and government reserves, pp. 836-7 and Maps 8, 43. (Identifying number on maps for Washo is 473.)

Rust, H. N.
1897 Tom the Arrowmaker. Land of Sunshine, Vol. 8, pp. 13-15. (Essentially the same material in "Survivals of the Stone Age," The Antiquarian, Vol. 1, pp. 284-5, 1897, by the same writer, and quoted in Squier, 1953, p. 24.)

The works of one of the last of the Washo bow and arrow craftsmen.

Sample, L. L.
1950 Trade and Trails in Aboriginal California. UCAS-R, No. 8, pp. 1-30.

Washo and Maidu trail data from notes by W. Evans and F. Riddell, and data on Washo trade with Maidu and Miwok from S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford.

Sapir, Edward
1917 The Status of Washo. AA, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 449-50.

Linguistic relations of Washo and Hokan.

1921 Supplementary Note on Salinan and Washo. IJAL, Vol. 2, pp. 68-72.

Schellbach, Louis
1927 A Bone Implement of the Washo. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Indian Notes, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 400-3.

Scotch, Norman A.
1957 A Methodological Model for the Anthropological Study of Disease: Essential Hypertension in Three Societies. Ph. D dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston.

The section on the Washo contains ethnographic and medical information based upon direct field observation and testing.

113 Simpson, J. H.
1869 The Shortest Route to California, Illustrated by a History of Exploration of the Great Basin of Utah with Its Topographical and Geological Character and Some Account of the Indian Tribes, J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

Washo location, population, land use, and Paiute location, pp. 48-9.

Siskin, Edgar E.
1938 Washo Territory. AA, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 626-7.

Location of Washo, land use and seasonal round, territorial divisions, location of neighboring peoples.

1941 The Impact of the Peyote Cult upon Shamanism among the Washo Indians. Ph.D dissertation, Yale University, New Haven.

Squier, Robert J.
1953 The Manufacture of Flint Implements by the Indians of Northern and Central California. UCAS-R, No. 19, Paper 20, pp. 15-33.

Washo method according to H. N. Rust, 1897, p. 24.

Steward, Julian H.
1929 Petroglyphs of California and Adjoining States. UCPAAE, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 47-238.

Petroglyphs in Washo territory, pp. 65-70, 139-45..

1933 Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute. UCPAAE, Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 233-350.

Location of Washo, p. 235.

Stewart, Omer C.
1939 The Northern Paiute Bands. UC-AR, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 127-49.

Aboriginal Washo territory -- Northern Paiute boundary.

1939 Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism. Proceedings of the Fifth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 85-8. Toronto.

1941 Culture Element Distributions: XIV, Northern Paiute. UC-AR, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 361-446.

An important source, includes a listing of Washo culture elements in addition to Northern Paiute and Achomawi.

1944 Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism: A Study in Acculturation. UCPAAE, Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 63-142.

Swadesh, Morris
1954 Time Depths in American Linguistic Groupings. AA, Vol. 56, pp. 361-4.

Indicates the divergence of Washo-Comecrudo and Washo-Jicaque.

Tax, Sol (Ed.)
1960 The North American Indians, 1950 Distribution of Descendants of the Aboriginal Population of Alaska, Canada and the United States. Map prepared by the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

Dresslerville population given as 170, Washo population given as 791. Some of the figures given are misleading and inaccurate.

Taylor, Alex S.
1860 The Indianology of California. The California Farmer, Vol. 13, June 22, 1860, 138.

Location and population of Washo.

Train, Percy, James R. Henricks and W. Andrew Archer
1941 Medicinal Uses of Plants by Indian Tribes of Nevada. Contributions Toward a Flora of Nevada, No. 33. U. S. Department of Agriculture. (mimeographed)

Data on medicinal use of Nevada plants by Washo and other groups; short Washo word list, pp. 36-7.

A3

U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs
1944

Program of the Carson Indian Agency Jurisdiction, Nevada-California. (mimeographed)

Agency records, summary of program, description of Washo social and economic conditions, history of the reservation areas and Federal programing, economic data on families, differences arising between Washo and Nevada stockmen regarding Pinenut Range lands.

U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Public Lands
1950 A compilation of Material Relating to the Indians of the United States and the Territory of Alaska, Including Certain Laws and Treaties Affecting Such Indians, June 13, 1950, Serial 30.

Washo reservation acreage and population estimated in the 1930's, p. 91; history of Washo reservation and land allotments, pp. 240-1; statistics on lands, resources, employment, health, education, and material conditions of the Washo, pp. 846-7, 853; description of the charter and constitution of the Washo Tribe of Nevada and California approved January 24, 1936, p. 1044.

Weltfish, Gene
1930 Coiled Gambling Baskets of the Pawnee and Other Plains Tribes. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Indian Notes, Vol. 7, No. 3.

Comparative statement on the use of baskets for dice games and Culin's (1907, p. 199) information on the Washo use of a winnowing basket for their dice games, p. 293.

1932 Problems in the Study of Ancient and Modern Basket-Makers. AA, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 108-17.

See p. 115 for note on Washo basketry.

Wissler, Clark
1931 Observation on the Face and Teeth of the North American Indians. American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, Vol. 33, Pt. 1, pp. 1-33.

Includes data on living Washo children.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

## UNPUBLISHED

Anonymous
n. d. The Lost and Forgotten Tribe: The Washoe Indian Tribe. Mimeographed and distributed by Fritz L. Kramer, Department of Geography, University of Oregon.

An unusual and important document written by a young Washo woman as a university term paper. It constitutes the only instance -- within the knowledge of the bibliographers -- of a written description of modern Washo life and attitudes by a member of the group.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe
1881 Early History of Carson Valley. MS, 5 pp. (call no. P-F 16, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; microfilm no. 67, Treasure Room, University of Utah Library.)

Deals with the period 1850-1857.

Bigler, Henry William
1872 Diary of a Mormon in California--Discovery of Gold 1848. MS. (call no. C-D 45, Bancroft Library, Berkeley. Complete journal with extracts concerning missionary experiences and an account of life in "The Union" on microfilm no. 76, Treasure Room, University of Utah Library.)

Notes taken from the author's diary between 1846 and 1848 - concerning prospecting on the American River, Mormon wagon trains from Salt Lake City to California; immigrants and Indian raids.

Blackburn, Abner
n. d. Reminiscences. MS. Quoted in The Humboldt, Dale L. Morgan (1943).

n. d. Narrative of Experiences, 1837-51. MS. (call no. C-D 5007, Bancroft Library, Berkeley.)

Comments by an early settler in Carson Valley.

Conover, Peter Wilson
n. d. Journal, 1840-1875. MS. Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

● 113 Accounts of the recall of Mormons from Carson Valley to Salt Lake City.

Cradlebaugh, William M.
1883 Nevada Biography, San Francisco. MS, 5 pp. (call no. P-C 3, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; microfilm no. 65, Treasure Room, University of Utah Library.)

Notes concerning early settlements and mining in western Nevada.

Dangberg, Grace
1917-1920 Field Notes: language, folklore, material culture, social organization, and shamanism.

1919 Ethnographic Field Notes on the Washo Indians. MS.

d'Azevedo, Warren L.
1952-55, 1959-60 Field Notes: general ethnological data, social organization, territorial distribution, peyotism.

1956 Washo Place Names. MS.

n. d. A Contribution to the Ethnohistory of the Washo. (In preparation.)

Dodge, J. (Indian Agent)
1859 Letter to Jacob Forney, Esq., Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory, Jan. 4, 1859. B. I. A., Utah Superintendency, L. R. 1859, D-635.

Downs, James F.
1959 Field Notes.

n. d. Non-Herders: The Washo, Part II: The Effects of Animal Husbandry on Two American Indian Tribes. (In preparation.)

n. d. Washo Hunting Techniques. (In preparation.)

Freed, Stanley A.
1952-57 Field Notes.

General ethnographic data regarding aboriginal and modern Washo culture. An emphasis on social organization.

113

1954 Washo Habitation Sites in the Lake Tahoe Area. MS. (6 pp. and map on file, Dept. of Anthropology, California Archaeological Survey, University of California, Berkeley.)

A discussion of Washo season round, fishing techniques, preparation of fish, and location of campsites on Lake Tahoe.

Freed, Ruth S.

1953-57 Field Notes.

Unpublished data on social organization, modern teen-age Washo, and life histories.

Grosscup, Gordon L.

1954 Northern Paiute Archeology. MS.

A compilation of regional archeological site materials pertinent to prehistoric occupation of Northern Paiute.

Hamlin, Alfred Street

1918 The Federal Policy in Relation to the Nevada Indians. Master's thesis, University of California.

Huffaker, Granville W.

1883 Early Cattle Trade in Nevada. MS. (call no. P-G 5, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; microfilm no. 65, Treasure Room, University of Utah Library.)

Notes of H. H. Bancroft from Huffaker's narration concerning the early cattle business in Truckee Meadows and Steamboat Valley with descriptions of settlements in the 1850's and 60's.

Hurt, Garlund

1856 Letter to His Excellency Brigham Young, Governor and Ex Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory, September, 1856. D.I.A., Utah Superintendency, L.R. 1856, U-13.

Jacobsen, William H., Jr.

1958 Washo Basic Vocabulary. MS. Department of Linguistics, University of California. (14 pp., 450 items.)

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

● 113

n.d. Structural Characteristics of Hokan Languages. MS.

A structural nongenetic comparison of five languages: Washo, Yuma, Karok, Yana, and Kashaya (S. W. Pomo).

n.d. Internal Reconstruction in Washo. Dept. of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley. (mimeographed)

Lee, S. L.
1912 Original Basket Catalogue. (MS journal in the collection of the Nevada State Museum, Carson City, Nevada.)

The original handwritten annotation made by Dr. Lee to his extensive collection of Washo and other Indian materials during his long residence in the Carson Valley area. Collection presented to the Nevada State Museum in 1934.

Malloy, William D.
1931 Carson Valley 1857-1867. Master's thesis, University of California, Berkeley.

Merriam, C. Hart
1904 Vocabularies of North American Indians: Washoo. MS.

1904 and 1935 Field Check Lists, Pacific Coast Region, Wah-shoo. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Biological Survey. MS.

1930 Field Notes and Other Ethnographic Materials (including those listed above). Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Nevada State Museum, Carson City, Nevada
n.d. The Dr. West Collection.

Petroglyph tracings from Nevada and California sites. Unfortunately many of these are not annotated or given precise location. The tracings from Modoc territory are most complete.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

113

Price, John A.

1961 Field Notes. Material culture, technology, ethnohistory and economic organization.

1962 Washo Economy. Master's thesis, University of Utah.

Reese, John

1884 Mormon Station. MS. Notes dictated to an interviewer in Salt Lake City. (call no. P-G 11, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; Vol. 1, pp. 186-90, Nevada Historical Society Papers; microfilm no. 65, Treasure Room, University of Utah Library.)

Concerned with early settlers in Nevada, Mormon Station in Carson Valley, and trading, mining and ranching of Mormons and others in 1851-1859.

Smith, Martin

1935 Field Notes. (See reference to this material in Omer C. Stewart, "Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism.")

Stewart, Omer C.

1936-1938 Field Notes.

Extensive detailed observations concerning Washo life during this period, and numerous biographies of Peyotists and others.

Van Sickle, H.

1883 Utah Desperadoes. MS. 12 pp. (call no. P-F 37, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; microfilm no. 67, Treasure Room, University of Utah Library).

Material on early events in Carson Valley.

Wall, Claude Leon

1952 History of Indian Education in Nevada from 1861 to 1951. Master's thesis, University of Nevada, Reno.

Witt, Edgar E., Louis J. O'Marr and William M. Holt

1959 The Washoe Tribe v. The United States, Findings of Fact. Indian Claims Commission, Docket No. 288.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

## HISTORY

112

Anonymous
n. d. Romantic Heritage of Douglas-Alpine. California Interstate Telephone Co.

Angel, Myron (Ed.)
1958 Reproduction of Thompson and West's History of Nevada, 1881. (Originally published by Thomas H. Thompson and Albert A. West, 1881; reproduced by Howell-North, Berkeley, 1958.)

Includes details of early explorers Jed Smith, Ogden, Sublette, Kit Carson, and Fremont and the Cooper and Donner parties; settlement of Carson Valley, pp. 31-6; location of Washo and Washo-white warfare, pp. 147-8; Washo-Paiute relations, p. 150; settlement of Washo Valley, p. 182.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe
1889 History of California. Vol. 6 of The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. The History Co., San Francisco.

1890 History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming. Vol. 25 of The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. The History Co., San Francisco.

Location of Washo and Washo war with whites, pp. 206-7.

Barnes, A. J.
1877 Report of A. J. Barnes, U.S. Indian Agent, Nevada. (See Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.)

Bashford, Herbert, and Harr Wagner
1927 A Man Unafraid, the Story of John Charles Fremont. Harr Wagner Publishing Co., San Francisco.

Account of an early trip through western Nevada from Oregon to California by way of Pyramid Lake, pp. 102-24.

Beattie, Hampton S.
1884 The First in Nevada. Nevada Historical Society Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 168-71.

113

Interview between H. Bancroft and H. S. Beattie involving the latter's experiences and observations of the first settlement in the Carson Valley between the years 1849 and 1853. No mention of the Washo Indians.

Beckwith, E. G.

1854 Report of Exploration for a Route for the Pacific Railroad, On the Line of the Forty-First Parallel of North Latitude. In Reports of Explorations and Survey, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, Vol II, Senate, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session, Ex. Doc. No. 78, pp. 1-108.

Gosiute, Shoshoni, and Northern Paiute, pp. 30-33.

Bidwell, John

1938 Echoes of the Past about California. Lakeside Press, Chicago, Ill.

Pp. 51-60 refer to a trip along the Humboldt River to the Carson and Walker rivers.

Bigler, Henry W.

1932 Extracts from the Journal of Henry W. Bigler. Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 5, Nos. 2, 3, 4.

Accounts of the Mormon Battalion in 1847; travel in Washo territory, pp. 89-92.

Brooks, Juanita

1944 Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier. Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 1-48.

1950 The Mountain Meadows Massacre. Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Recall of Mormon settlers from Carson Valley, pp. 17-20. Pp. 191-2 contain a letter of George A. Smith, 1858, with regard to the immigrant policy of shooting Indians, and Indian distinctions between Mormon and "Americats" as friends and enemies respectively.

113

Camp, Charles L. (Ed.)
1928 James Clyman, American Frontiersman. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland.

Trek down eastern slope of Sierras from Donner Lake, April-May 1846, pp. 208-12.

Cannon, George Q.
1864 Writings from the "Western Standard." San Francisco.

Orson Hyde appointed to establish and take charge of the settlement in Carson Valley in 1855.

Chever, E. E.
1870 The Indians of California. American Naturalist, Vol. 4, pp. 129-48.

Comments about the Maidu by an early settler.

Dale, Harrison C.
1918 The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829. Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland. (Rev. Ed., Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, California, 1941.)

Comments on the Snake, Shoshoni, Paiute, and Ute; brief mention of Nevada Indians, pp. 186-8, 228-31.

Davis, Samuel Post (Ed.)
1913 History of Nevada. 2 Vols. Elms Publishing Co., Reno.

See also (this bibliography): DeWitt-Warr, Vernille; Ingalls, G. W.; Ewing, Thomas.

Dellenbaugh, Frederick
1914 Fremont and '49. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Information on both southern and central Nevada Indian groups scattered throughout.

De Quille, Dan (William Wright)
1877 History of the Big Bonanza: An Authentic Account of the Discovery, History, and Working of the World Renowned Comstock Silver Lode of Nevada. American Publishing Co., Hartford (reissued by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1947).

See p. 20 for mention of dealings between John Reese and the Washo. Location of Washo, pp. 23, 24, 259 and 415; location of Paiutes, pp. 259, 260.

DeWitt-Warr, Vernille
1937 Destitute Nevada Indians. In History of Nevada, Samuel P. Davis (Ed.), Vol. 1, pp. 133-61. Elms Publishing Co., Reno.

Dodge, J.
1859 Report of Indian Agent J. Dodge. (See under Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.)

Douglas, H.
1859 Report of H. Douglas. (See under Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.)

Ewing, Thomas
1913 Indian Hostilities. In History of Nevada, Samuel P. Davis (Ed.), Vol. 1, pp. 162-89. Elms Publishing Co., Reno.

See p. 183.

Fairfield, Asa Merrill
1916 Pioneer History of Lassen County, California.

Washo and Paiute locations and populations, pp. 13-14.

Farrell and Smith (Publishers)
1882 Illustrated History of Plumas, Lassen and Sierra Counties.

See p. 260 for early pioneers in Sierra Valley and raids by the Washo; p. 378 for pioneer fear of Washo; and p. 385 for the "Paiute War" of 1857.

Fletcher, Frederick Nathaniel
1929 Early Nevada, The Period of Exploration, 1776-1848. A. Carlisle & Co., Reno.

● 113

Includes accounts of the Spanish period, Jedediah Smith, Hudson's Bay Co., Bonneville-Walker expedition, Barthleson-Bidwell party, J. C. Fremont expedition.

Fremont, John Charles
1845 Report of the Exploration Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and Northern California in the Years 1843-44. Doc. 174, Senate, 28th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 1-683. (See also Memoirs of My Life, 1887, Vol. 1. 633 pp. Belford, Clarke and Co., Chicago.)

Location of Washo, pp. 188, 221, 225-34.

Hamilton, W. T.
1951 My Sixty Years on the Plains: Trapping, Trading, and Indian Fighting. Long's College Book Co., Columbus, Ohio.

See pp. 159-67, 209, 227-30 for discussion of contacts with Indians.

Hamlin, Herbert (Ed.)
1947 Knott Reminiscences, Early History of Nevada in the 1850's. Pioneer Press, Placerville.

Hopkins, Sarah Winnemucca
1883 Life among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Account of Mrs. Hopkins, a Northern Paiute, her life and the history of the Northern Paiute. Washo place names, Washo-white hostility, and "Captain Jam" (Jim?) of the Washo, pp. 59-68.

Houghton, Eliza P. Donner
1911 The Expedition of the Donner Party and Its Tragic Fate. A. C. McClurg and Co., Chicago.

Huntington, Oliver B.
1887 A Trip to Carson Valley. In "Eventful Narratives," Faith Promoting Series, Robert Aveson (Ed.), Vol. 13, pp. 77-98. Juvenile Instructor Office, L.D.S. Church, Salt Lake City.

An account of a trip from Salt Lake City to Carson Valley and return in 1854.

Ingalls, G. W.
1913 Indians of Nevada, 1825 to 1913. In The History of Nevada, Samuel P. Davis (Ed.), Vol. 1, pp. 20-132. Elms Publishing Co., Reno.

Population figures for 1859, and territory estimate, p. 23; see also pp. 26, 29, 36 (major habitation areas, 1861); Washo basketry, p. 130.

1913 Washo County. In The History of Nevada, Samuel P. Davis (Ed.), Vol. 2. Elms Publishing Co., Reno.

See p. 1004 for discussion of naming of Washo County.

Jennings, William
1884 Carson Valley. Nevada Historical Society Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 178-83.

Johnson, Overton, and William H. Winter
1846 Route across the Rocky Mountains with a Description of Oregon and California in 1843. (Reprinted in 1932 by Princeton University Press.)

See p. 103 for description of Indians on "Truckies River."

Kelly, Charles
1930 Salt Desert Trails: A History of the Hastings Cutoff and Other Early Trails Which Crossed the Great Salt Desert Seeking a Shorter Road to California. Western Printing Company, Salt Lake City.

Short account of Donner party and harassment of emigrants on the Truckee River by Indians, pp. 81-95.

Kern, Edward M.
1876 Journal of Mr. Edward M Kern of an Exploration of the Mary's or Humboldt River, Carson Lake, and Owens River and Lake, in 1845. In Report of Exploration across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for Direct Wagon-Route from Camp Floyd to Genoa, in Carson Valley in 1859, by J. H. Simpson, pp. 475-86, Appendix Q. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Reference to Indians on Walker River near Walker Lake and mention of duck decoys, p. 480.

●113

Leonard, Zenas
(See Quaife, 1934, in this section.)

Lillard, Richard G.
1949 Desert Challenge, An Interpretation of Nevada. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Contains a historical summary, references to early explorations and settlements, early mining camps, and Indian-white relations.

Loomis, Leander V.
1928 A Journal of the Birmingham Emigrating Company: The Record of a Trip from Birmingham, Iowa, to Sacramento, California, in 1850. Legal Printing Company, Salt Lake City.

See pp. 110-11, 114, 115, 116-23 for notes on pioneer routes in Washo territory.

Mack, Effie Mona
1936 Nevada: A History of the State from the Earliest Times through the Civil War. Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale.

Description of the Washo, pp. 39-57; location of Washo, p. 40 (from A. L. Kroeber); Washo-Paiute war, p. 50.

1945 Nevada's First House. The Nevada Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, Gardnerville, Nevada.

McGlashan, Charles Fayette
1947 History of the Donner Party: A Tragedy of the Sierra. George H. McGlashan and Bliss McGlashan Hinkle (Eds.). Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Morgan, Dale L.
1943 The Humboldt, Highroad of the West. Rinehart, New York.

Effect of white intrusion on Indians of eastern Sierra slope and white-Indian wars in the 1850's and 60's.

Murbarger, Nell
1950 Mother of Nevada. The Salt Lake Tribune, June 18. Salt Lake City.

Notes the payment by Reese of two sacks of flour to "Capt. Jim" of the Washo for land at Mormon Station.

Nevins, Allan (Ed.)
1936 Narratives of Exploration and Adventure by John Charles Fremont. Longmans, Green and Co., New York.

See pp. 343-75 for travels through Washo territory with extensive comments on the Indians. The editorial annotation is a valuable addition to Fremont's account.

Parker, Superintendent
1866 Report of Superintendent Parker. (See under Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.)

Quaife, Milo Milton (Ed.)
1934 Narrative of the Adventures of Zenas Leonard. Lakeside Press, Chicago.

See pp. 106-123 for a trip from Salt Lake City to the Sierra Nevadas in the 1840's, and pp. 197-275 for the return trip with some ethnographic comment.

Reed, James Frazier
1847 Narrative of the Sufferings of a Company of Emigrants in the Mountains of California, in the Winter of '46 and '47. Illinois State Journal, December 9. Springfield.

1871 The Snow-Bound, Starved Emigrants of 1846. Pacific Rural Press, March 25 and April 1.

Remy, Jules
1860 Voyage au Pays des Mormons. E. Dentu, Libraire--editeur, Paris. (English edition is A Journey to Great Salt Lake by Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, published in 1860 in London.)

The journey took place in 1855. See pp. 24-132 for comments on Washo, Northern Paiute, and Shoshoni; Pahvant, p. 292; Southern Paiute, p. 340.

Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (made to the Secretary of the Interior)
1852 Agent J. H. Holman met Washo near Carson City and Mormon Station.

● 113

1856 Agent Garlund Hurt wrote that Washo in Carson City tried to collect rent from the whites.

1859 Agent Jacob Forney met Washo at Honey Lake.

1859 P. 1, Report of Agent J. Dodge, Carson Valley, Utah Territory, January 4, 1859, to Jacob Forney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory.

1860 Agent F. Dodge.

1861 Agent Warren Wasson.

1863 Agent J. T. Lockhart.

1865-1867 Agent F. Campbell.

1866 P. 115, Report of Superintendent Parker.

1869 Agent H. Douglas.

1870 P. 96, Report of H. Douglas, Major in the U.S. Army, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Description of Washo settlements and economy, "the most degraded Indians."

1872 Agent C. A. Bateman.

1877 P. 151, Report of Agent A. J. Barnes. Mention of Washo attitude toward U.S. Government and settlers and their "conditions deplorable in extreme -- pitiful beggars."

Schallenberger, Moses
1953 Overland in 1844. In The Opening of the California Trail, George R. Stewart (Ed.), pp. 46-84. University of California Press, Berkeley.

See pp. 66-78 for events in Washo territory.

Scrugham, James
1935 Nevada, A Narrative of the Conquest of a Frontier Land. 3 vols. American Historical Society, Inc., Chicago.

113

Simpson, James H.
1876 Report of Exploration across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for Direct Wagon-Route from Camp Floyd to Genoa, in Carson Valley, in 1859. Engineering Department, U.S. Army, Washington, D. C.

North and central Nevada ethnographic comments, pp. 459-74 and appendices O, P, and Q; location, population, land use, seasonal round, and political organization of the Washo from information supplied by the Indian Agent, Major Dodge, pp. 38, 93-4.

Springmeyer, George
1913 Douglas County. In The History of Nevada, Samuel P. Davis (Ed.), Vol. 2, pp. 810-11.

Thompson, Thomas H., and Albert A. West
1881 History of Nevada. (See Angel, 1958.)

An important historical work with relevant material scattered throughout. Washo raid on Eagle Station in 1853, capture of a 16 year old boy, and two men killed by Washo in 1857, p. 147.

Wistar, Isaac Jones
1914 The Autobiography of Isaac Jones Wistar, Vol. 1. Philadelphia.

Report of contact with two terrified, hungry Washo on the upper Truckee River in 1849.

Woon, Basil
1953 (Newspaper articles on the Washo.) Nevada State Journal, May 5, 1953 and May 31, 1953.

Work Projects Administration
1940 Nevada, A Guide to the Silver State, Binfords and Mort, Portland.

Excellent summary of early explorations and emigrant parties; also of development of white settlements and commerce in the 1850's.

•113

## ECOLOGY

Aschman, Homer
1958 Great Basin Climates in Relation to Human Occupation. In "Current Views on Great Basin Archaeology," UCAS-R, No. 42, pp. 23-40.

Billings, W. Dwight
1945 The Plant Associations of the Carson Desert Region, Western Nevada. Butler University Botanical Studies, Vol. 7, Paper 7, pp. 89-123. Indianapolis.

1954 Nevada Trees. University of Nevada Agricultural Extension Service Bulletin, No. 84, 2nd ed., pp. 1-125. Reno.

Gromme, Owen J.
1932 A Sojourn among the Wild Fowl of Pyramid Lake, Nevada. Yearbook of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 10, pp. 266-303.

Includes a description of bird and reptile life around Pyramid Lake in 1927.

Hall, E. Raymond
1946 Mammals of Nevada. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Hubbs, Carl L., and Robert R. Miller
1948 The Zoological Evidence in the Great Basin: With Emphasis on Glacial and Postglacial Times. Bulletin of the University of Utah, Vol. 38, No. 20, Pt. 2, pp. 13-166.

Correlation between fish distribution and hydrographic history in the desert basins of the western United States.

LaRivers, Ira, and T. J. Trelease
1952 An Annotated Check List of the Fishes of Nevada. California Fish and Game, Vol. 38, No. 1, pp. 113-23. Sacramento.

Introduced species and native forms listed.

Linsdale, Jean M.
1936 The Birds of Nevada. Cooper Ornithological Club, Pacific Coast Avifauna, No. 23, pp. 1-145. Berkeley.

Russell, R. J.
1926 Climates of California. University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 2, No. 4.

Snyder, John Otterbein
1915-16 The Fishes of the Lahontan System of Nevada and Northeastern California. Bulletin of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Vol. 35, pp. 31-86.

Stebbins, Robert C.
1951 Amphibians of Western North America. University of California Press, Berkeley.

1954 Amphibians and Reptiles of Western North America. McGraw-Hill, New York.

Tidestrom, Ivar
1925 Flora of Utah and Nevada. Contributions from the U.S. National Herbarium, Vol. 25, pp. 1-665. Washington.

Van Denburgh, John
1922 The Reptiles of Western North America. Occasional Papers of the California Academy of Science, No. 10, 2 vols. San Francisco.

## GENERAL

Aginsky, B. W.
1943 Culture Element Distributions: XXIV, Central Sierra. UC-AR, Vol. 8, No. 4.

Miwok, Mono and Yokuts.

Bailey, Paul
1957 Wovoka, The Indian Messiah. Westernlore Press, Los Angeles.

An account of Jack Wilson, the Northern Paiute proselyter, and the Ghost Dance.

Barrett, S. A.
1919 Myths of the Southern Sierra Miwok. UCPAAE, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 1-28.

#3

Barber, B.
1941 A Socio-Cultural Interpretation of the Peyote Cult. AA, Vol. 43, No. 4, Pt. 1, pp. 673-5.

Includes a reference to the spread of the Ghost Dance from Northern Paiute groups.

Baumhoff, Martin A.
1957 An Introduction to Yana Archaeology. UCAS-R, No. 40, pp. 1-61.

1958 History of Great Basin Ethnography. In "Current Views on Great Basin Archaeology," UCAS-R, No. 42, pp. 1-6.

Baumhoff, Martin A., and A. B. Elsasser
1956 Summary of Archaeological Survey and Excavation in California. UCAS-R, No. 33, Paper 37, pp. 1-27.

Contains an extensive bibliography on California archeology organized by author, area, and county.

Baumhoff, M. A., and J. S. Bryne
1959 Desert Side-Notched Points as a Time Marker in California. UCAS-R, No. 48, pp. 32-65.

Bean, E. F.
1867 Bean's History & Directory of Nevada County, California. Daily Gazetter and Job Office, Nevada.

P. 28 gives the location of Washo, hypothetically, from an inscription on a rock.

Bennyhoff, J. A.
1956 An Appraisal of the Archaeological Resources of Yosemite National Park. UCAS-R, No. 34, pp. 1-71.

Bennyhoff, J A., and Robert F. Heizer
1958 Outland Coiled Basketry from Caves of West Central Nevada. UCAS-R, No. 42, pp. 48-59.

1958 Cross-Dating Great Basin Sites by Californian Shell Beads. UCAS-R, No. 42, pp. 60-92.

Bright, William
1955 A Bibliography of the Hokan-Coahuiltecan Languages. IJAL, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 278-85.

Calkins, Frank W.
n. d. Washo Pete or, Hunting Stories of the West. M. A. Donahue & Co., Chicago.

Chamberlain, R. V.
1908 Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians. Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, Vol. 60, pp. 75-103.

1911 The Ethno-Botany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah. American Anthropological Association Memoir, No. 2, Pt. 5, pp. 329-405.

Cook, Sherborne F.
1943 The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization. Ibero-America, Vol. 24, pp. 1-29.

Excellent analysis of the causes of decline of Indian population on the western slopes of the Sierras and elsewhere in California.

Culin, Stewart
1901 A Summer Trip among the Western Indians. Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 1-22; No. 2, pp. 88-122; No. 3, pp. 143-75.

Curtin, Jeremiah
1909 Achomawi Myths. JAFL, Vol. 22, pp. 283-7.

Day, A. Grove
1951 The Sky Clears, Poetry of the American Indians. MacMillan Co., New York, N. Y.

Several brief references to the Northern Paiute (Ghost Dance, Wovoka and poetry).

Dixon, Roland B.
1900 Basketry Designs of the Maidu Indians of California. AA, n. s., Vol. 2, pp. 266-76.

113

1900 Some Coyote Stories from the Maidu Indians of California. JAFL, Vol. 13, pp. 267-70.

1902 Maidu Myths. Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 17, pp. 33-118.

1903 System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology. JAFL, Vol. 16, pp. 32-6.

1904 Some Shamans of Northern California. JAFL, Vol. 1 , pp. 23-7.

1905 The Northern Maidu. Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 17, pp. 119-346.

1908 Achomawi and Atsugewi Tales. JAFL, p. . 159-77.

1909 Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi of Northern California. AA, Vol. 10, pp. 208-20.

1911 Maidu: An Illustrative Sketch. BAE-B, No. 40, Pt. 1, pp. 679-734.

1912 Maidu Texts. American Ethnological Society, Vol. 4.

Driver, Harold E.
1937 Culture Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada. UC-AR, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 53-154.

Trait distributions of the Mono, Yokuts, Kern River, Kawaiisu, Panamint and Owens Valley Paiute.

Eldredge, I. F.
1923 Caterpillars a la Piute. American Forestry, Vol. 29, No. 354, pp. 330-2. Washington.

Use of caterpillars for food by Mono Lake Paiute.

Ellsworth, George S.
1954 A Guide to the Manuscripts in the Bancroft Library Relating to the History of Utah. Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 197-247. (Also available as a reprint.)

Includes several documents relevant to a study of the Washo. Most are included in this bibliography, listed by author or informant. Microfilm copies of these manuscripts are available in several libraries.

Faye, Paul-Louis
1923 Notes on the Southern Maidu. UCPAAE, Vol. 20, No. 3.

Fenenga, Franklin, and Francis A. Riddell
1949 Excavation of Tommy Tucker Cave, Lassen County, California. American Antiquity, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 203-14.

This cave is just north of historic Washo territory.

Garth, Thomas R.
1953 Atsugewi Ethnography. UC-AR, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 129-212.

Gayton, A. H.
1948 Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography. UC-AR, Vol. 10, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 1-301.

Gifford, Edward W.
1916 Miwok Moieties. UCPAAE, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 139-44.

1917 Miwok Myths. UCPAAE, Vol. 12, No. 8, pp. 283-338.

1955 Central Miwok Ceremonies. UC-AR, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 261-318.

Gifford, Edward W., and Stanislaw Klimek
1936 Culture Element Distributions: II, Yana. UCPAAE, Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 71-100.

Grosscup, Gordon L.
1956 The Archaeology of the Carson Sink Area. UCAS-R, No. 33, Paper 43, pp. 58-64.

1957 A Bibliography of Nevada Archaeology. UCAS-R, No. 36, pp. 1-54.

Also includes sections on geographical-biological-historical background, ethnography, physical anthropology, petroglyphs and radiocarbon dates.

302
[412]
[881]
[765]
[824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

301
237

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gui). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304
301
[756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301
[237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302
304
[531]
[386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau wati dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302
[751]
[177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302
386
[317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 384

The yellow (waltsetsinî) and black (wɬlyesuwî) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipɬk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelɬl tayadî) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (peolelɬl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

## Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is na?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (iombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a [354] fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barrett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar [824] boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace [354] (diyu itgums¢w¢), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of [417] a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dauyatsim buutsui).

372 The fire (di?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (ulu ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside [313] with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of [887] gathering firewood (maak b¢h¢sing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 342 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [see cat. 116, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

344 177 [668] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

## Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (patalmi m¢gi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. [782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and [685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had [431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, 423 fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

Pinenut pickinggrounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

## Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

463

There were no full time craft specialists in Washo society. Every household produced the major amount of its own food, clothing and shelter. There were some individuals who were better at making bows and arrows and other crafts who specialized to a degree.

224
622
463

Particularly successful hunters became leaders of deer hunting parties. Leadership was somewhat specialized for rabbit drives, antelope drives, mud hen and duck drives, dances, pinenut gathering, and cooperative endeavors generally.

756
463

The shaman came the closest to being a full time specialist since he spent much time at his trade. There was a great proliferation of specialization among shamans.

This specialization involved the source of particular supernatural abilities (wʔgaleyu), what songs or paraphernalia were used, and what curing or other services could be rendered. Some individuals were particularly expert at "charming" antelope in the antelope drives. Others had the ability from the rattlesnake spirit to cure snake bites. In addition, there were herbalists and midwives who practiced without shamanistic ritual.

[224]
[424]
[752]

## CHAPTER III

## DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1956, 345-352).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mibɛ shigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hutɛ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

571
433
431

of the relationship is wide, and "spontaneous" in being relatively uninhibited (Davis 1949). Secondary relations are at the other end of the continuum: extrinsic, impersonal, exclusive, and inhibited.

The eight forms of economic distribution as they occur in Washo society can be ordered along this continuum from primary to secondary: (1) ceremonial disposal, (2) familial sharing, (3) task group sharing, (4) gift and ceremonial exchange, (5) feasts, (6) payment for services, (7) gambling, and (8) trade.

In terms of the socio-economic groups involved, only two - familial sharing and task group sharing - are essentially concerned with economic production. The other six are concerned with distribution. This gives us the dichotomy of "producing groups" and "distributing groups". The distribution involved in producing groups takes the general form of sharing (weak reciprocity), while the distribution in distributing groups takes the general form of an exchange (strong reciprocity).

On the basis of a hypothetical breakdown of the total distribution of all economic goods and services in Washo economy we can order these forms on a continuum from the quantitatively most important to the least important: (1) familial sharing, (2) task group sharing, (3) gift and ceremonial exchange, (4) feasts, (5) gambling, (6) trade, (7) payment for services, and (8) ceremonial disposal. Other forms of distribution such as theft (lamamshawi, "thief"), lost (pa) and found (ipu), and the spoils of war did occur but were not important enough to be discussed here.

The following outline presents a few of the qualities of these eight forms of distribution as they appear in Washo society and in the order they will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

"Primary" Distribution

1. Familial Sharing: based on division of labor by sex and age in the household; quantitatively most important. [462] [592]
2. Task Group Sharing: based on the breakdown of products from producing groups larger than the household.
3. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange: strong reciprocity: social status primary; connected with hospitality and life cycle events. [554]
4. Feasts: an abundance of food distributed by kin, task, or communal group. [574]
5. Ceremonial Disposal: based on supernatural beliefs.

"Secondary" Distribution

571
433
[525]
[434]

6. Gambling: economic competition via games of chance and skill.

7. Trade: immediate reciprocation and explicit negotiation.

8. Payment for Services: dispensing of "secondary" socio-economic debts.

Familial Sharing

431
433
571
592

Familial sharing is characterized by distributions resulting from the division of labor by sex and age. This system accounted for roughly 70%-90% of all Washo economic distribution. The importance of the various channels for the flow of goods fluctuated seasonally and regionally, but the internal family system always predominated. Familial sharing pertained to relations in the household but was extended as a general value to include all of humanity. With the exception of gambling, trade, and some payment for services, all the major distribution systems in Washo economy appear to be derived from familial sharing. That is, they appear as extensions of the primary relations found foremost in the family.

Familial sharing is not considered an exchange in the economic sense because of the special character of the reciprocity. It has the quality of the true gift. That is, the return of an economic good or service is not required. Children, for example, may never be in a position to repay their parents with economic goods. The case wherein the producer consumes his own production immediately without actually pooling or sharing is here included under familial sharing.

Reciprocation may come in non-economic forms such as the attribution of status or religious services. In familial sharing there is often no reciprocation from others at all. The sharing may be in the form of a cultural prescription, unreasonable for an "economic man", but nevertheless done: a ritual, conservative, habitual form.

592
596

Since familial sharing was so important, we should understand something of the household or domestic unit, particularly its composition, relations with other households, and its annual round of activities. A reconstruction of the composition of fifteen households in existence between 1885 and 1900 showed a range in number of individuals from three to thirteen and a mean number of seven individuals.[1] The household usually consisted of a core family

1. This research is summarized on pp. 8-10.

of a man, his wife and children, plus a few other close relatives such as brothers, sisters, and parents of either the man or the wife. Occasionally an unrelated friend was also part of the household. 592 596

The household composition changed over time by adding in-laws and children, by losing children who married and moved elsewhere, and by deaths. Yet each household had a degree of permanence as an economic unit.

In the cold half of the year, roughly October through March, the people of the household lived together in the winter house (galis dangal). Communities (angale atega) consisted of from two to about seven galis dangal scattered about fifty feet to a hundred yards from each other. These small communities were located around every permanent spring in the Pine Nut Hills and at other springs at low elevations and along the Truckee, Carson, and Walker rivers, at Washoe Lake, and at Long Valley Creek. 592 596 361 221 222

The Washo generally moved into the mountains in the warm months to fish the streams, particularly around Lake Tahoe, to hunt, and to gather the highland plants. During this time communities of scattered windbreaks (gadu) sprang up along the streams. It is not clear to this writer to what extent the winter "communities" persisted into the summer. However, it is clear that the "territorial divisions" maintained a degree of exclusiveness from one season to the next. The members of each household continued to live and work together and the households were much more mobile than in the cold months. They shifted residence in warm weather several times, rarely staying at the same site for over a month.

If the pinenut crop was to be good the household would move to the Pine Nut Hills around the middle of September. After collecting pinenuts many people would go, as single households or larger trek groups, to the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada for the later maturing acorns in October. They would try to gather the acorns and pack them back to the east side of the Sierras before the snows began. The total time for the trek was about two or three weeks. Occasionally they would winter west of the crest of the Sierras and build galis dangal there.

If the pinenut crop was to be bad they might stay longer at the highland rivers and then go directly for acorns. If both the pinenut and acorn crops were poor a few households might stay in the mountains depending more on fish and game for subsistence. Wintering around Lake Tahoe was enhanced by the fact that this deep lake does not freeze over in cold weather.

Familial sharing among the Washo was based on the differences of sex and age in a group committed to cooperative survival. The division of labor 592 596 433

592
596
433
[768]

involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

888
592
596
433

The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

554
592
596
264
433
[262]
[853]

Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

574
592
596
735
433

Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

262
731
591
596
433

There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

## Task Group Sharing[1]

Task group sharing among the Washo occurred in connection with the breakdown of products that resulted from efforts of hunting, fishing, and gathering parties that were larger that the household. The division of goods in this case was not necessarily in proportion to the amount of work contributed. Often mere presence with the party was sufficient to receive an equal share. Goods were usually divided equally among all the adult members of the task group. The meat of a single deer shot by a party of hunters was divided equally regardless of whose arrow actually brought the deer down. No information is available on how the hide and head were divided. In view of Washo techniques of clothing manufacture we would think that it would not be cut up, but given whole to one man. The Kawaiisu gave it to the hunter whose arrow brought the deer down (Cappannari 1960).

Slight variations were present in some divisions of the products depending on such things as ownership of a rabbit net or shamanistic powers in antelope drives. Rabbits (p¢lleu) were killed by individuals for meat anytime of the year, but winter communal drives (p¢lleu ush¢¢sh) provided most of the skins used in blankets and a great deal of meat. In winter the furs were in their prime. Also the diverse fishing and gathering activities of the summer were over so that people had spare time on their hands.

Rabbit nets (p¢lleu digush) were woven of plant fibers. These nets were about four feet high and usually from 20 to 40 feet in length. The nets were repaired and gradually added to in length over the years. Fremont wrote that "These nets were, perhaps, 30 to 40 feet long kept upright in the ground by slight sticks at intervals, and were made from a kind of wild hemp, very much resembling in manufacture those common among the Indians of the Sacramento Valley." (Nevins 1956, 355). Barrett (1917, 11) said that the rabbit nets were reported to be like those used by the Paviotso and usually some 300 feet long. The present writer's informants said that individually owned nets were tied together during a drive to form a single net 300 feet long. The combined nets were strung out across the floor of a valley or along the side of a hill. As the rabbit drivers moved across the country they shot rabbits with their bows and arrows and pulled them out of holes by forcing sticks down and twisting the stick into the rabbit fur. Plate IV, A illustrates a rabbit drive.

The people who owned the nets with some of their family would club, strangle, or crush the temples of the rabbits that got tangled in the nets. Each day for three or four days the nets were set up and a drive was held in

1. This writer is indebted to Anastasio (n.d.) for the term and concept of the "task group" as it is found in the Basin-Plateau area.

1 [ see cat. 116, end plate IV, following p. 74 -- Analyst ]

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

## Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

881
horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If [777] the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and [262] good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. [431] The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

584
Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art [431] in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people [583] were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were [834] shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

583
After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift 584 to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

585
The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the [535] custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance [881] (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

591
According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

## Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

## Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

262

If no young or old people were around to receive them, the heart and liver of a deer, antelope, or rabbit were thrown away. The fetus of an animal and the eggs of scavenger birds were never eaten. Coyote, lizard, snake, frog, and eagle meat were also taboo. When a person died all of his personal belongings were abandoned or destroyed. The home of the deceased was torn down or burned. Food produced by the deceased was destroyed or traded off for other food. One informant said that even clothes made by the deceased and given to another person were often destroyed. 768

Downs (1961, 375) wrote that, "Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical." The present writer has a similar impression, but it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the role of religion in economy since the data on this subject are so fragmentary today. Economic distribution related to the supernatural, such as the instances of ceremonial disposal described above, appears to be the most intimate, "primary" form of distribution. The importance of the supernatural side of the Washo world view is seen in the mythology collections by Dangberg (1927) and Lowie (1939). 771 433

## Gambling

Gambling (gawa) provided the most competitive basis for exchange among the Washo. It was more competitive than trade and was antithetical to the ideal of sharing. Teams that gambled and won together divided the winnings, but the competition between teams was intense and not necessarily proportionate to the value of the objects wagered. 525 433

The Washo would bet on any game or competition. Foot races (gumlɬshɬɬsh) for four, five, or six miles were a favorite subject of wagers. Bets were made on the outcome of the men's football game or the women's stick and rope game. Usually the players themselves would bet. Archery, a ring and pin game, a rock-toss game (umlalate), a quoit game, and wrestling were all the subjects of betting. Sometimes the wager would involve only a hit on the head or hand, but often the stakes would get high, requiring payment of baskets, eagle tail feathers, jewelry, buckskins, or even a rabbit skin blanket. 525 526

The favorite gambling games were those involving the manipulation of small sticks or bones, the hand games (hinaya when played by women and hinayaugi when played by men), stick games (sigaya), dice games, and basket games. These games were often major social events in themselves involving teams of players and dozens of spectators. The men and women always played separately. The games also involved chants, foot stamping, and other tactics to throw the opposing team off. Today men and women gamble together and the hand games have been replaced by card games. 524 525 [178]

## Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mibᵉshigihi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved.

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade are recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal".

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade".

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange.

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman.

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication).

person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tagum), fish (stabi), rabbits (p¢lieu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

439
484
The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and become friends.

438
Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, bone, and stone materials.

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

439
The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

439 [114]

claimed that the Washo supplied the Miwok with buffalo skins. The Washo informants of the present writer have no recollection of buffalo ever being in their territory and deny the possession of buffalo skins received by trade from others.

222

The Washo went south to Mono Lake to gather fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi). They also received them by trade from the Northern Paiute. Washo were in rather close contact with the surrounding Northern Paiute groups and traded with them for the whole range of goods produced. The Washo considered the Northern Paiute to be poor hunters and report providing them with deer skins in return for other goods.

### Payment for Services

465

A payment for services was given to midwives (damedugetiyi?) and curing practitioners generally. The shaman (damomli) and curing practitioners were often paid according to their fame and the nature of the cure. If the shaman failed in his efforts to help the sick person he was not paid. If he was paid for a cure and the patient had a relapse the doctor was sometimes forced to return the fee. It is this flexible bargaining that makes goods handed to a shaman a "payment" rather than a "gift". If a number of patients died the shaman was considered to be a witch and was killed.

[476]

The additional meat received by an antelope shaman after a successful drive may be considered a payment for his services. There were of course many services among the aboriginal Washo that are not discussed here, such as combing another person's hair or aiding a neighbor in building his house. The economic distribution aspects of these services, however, fall into the categories of familial and task group sharing, rather than the more impersonal payment for services.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE WASHO CASE IN ECONOMIC THEORY

43 [443] [556]

The Washo had no money, marketplaces, trade for profit, accumulation of capital, or inheritance as these relations are defined in standard economic parlance. Little trade was present, either among Washo or between Washo and non-Washo peoples. Goods and services did not move through profit-incentive, or for capital reserves and the accumulation of prestige goods. Goods did move, however, through the incentives of subsistence, fulfillment of ritual obligations, and the maintenance of social approval.

128

The following sections address certain theoretical problems in economic anthropology: non-market mechanisms of exchange, political power and the economy, barriers to economic development, prestige economy and money, and overproduction.

### Non-market Mechanisms of Exchange

443 435

A market is a price setting mechanism in the form of a sociocultural institution of economic exchange. A market inovlves exchange at bargained rates according to supply and demand. Generally Washo society would be described as having a "non-market" economy because it did not have marketplaces (a physical place where people customarily come to exchange), prices were not "set", and the value of goods or a service was not usually determined by what other goods or services they could be exchanged for.

Only in the distribution forms we have described as involving secondary social relations (gambling, trade, and payment for services) do we find anything analogous to market institutions. In Washo society the exchange or market value was usually overshadowed by personal, social, religious, or biological survival values. It is essential to include these non-market values in any equation that attempts to describe the regularities of Washo economics.

433 [454]

Few demands were set by the culture for economic goods. When these demands were filled individuals ceased working. There was no significant accumulation of property beyond immediate needs. Hoarding was impossible due to the requirement of sharing with relatives and friends. There was a constant social lien on the production of individuals and little social advantage to be gained by accumulating goods. The most renowned Washo among his own people in historic times, Gumalanga, behaved and dressed as the poorest among them. Gumalanga expressed the egalitarian orientation of Washo social values. [183]

The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees [171]

these mechanisms may be found in other economies in the world along the continuum of technological complexity.

433
[171]

## Political Authority and the Economy

Sahlins (1960, 408) writes that "In primitive economies, most production is geared to use of the producers or to discharge of kinship obligations, rather than exchange or gain...control of the means of production is decentralized, local, and familial...economic relations of coercion and exploitation and the corresponding social relations of dependence and mastery are not created in the system of production...in the absence of the incentive given by exchange of the product against a great quantity of goods on a market, there is a tendency to limit production to goods that can be directly utilized by the producers." These statements fit the Washo case and help to explain why the investment of political authority and the possession of wealth are not associated in Washo society.

The ability to produce economic goods, and personal generosity, were two of the most respected qualities in individuals. Men who had these qualities were often given a degree of political authority. That is, their advice was respected and followed. In the broad view, political authority was the result of conformance to a configuration of obligations: economic, religious, kinship, etc.

[577]

## Sociopolitical Groups and the Economy

Steward (1938, 257-262) presents a theory for the development of sociopolitical groups in the Basin-Plateau area. In his view these groups were conditioned by their varying ecological adjustments.

621
433
22

"The subsistence habits required in each region determined the size, nature, and permanency of population aggregates. These, in turn, predetermined many, though not all, features of social structures and political controls. In some regions, as among Western Shoshoni, exigencies of existence permitted little variation in the general sociopolitical patterns. When, however, ecology allowed latitude in subsistence activities, noneconomic factors, such as warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc., became determinants of the sociopolitical patterns."

"Among the Western Shoshoni and many of their Northern Paiute and Southern Paiute neighbors it was physically impossible for families either to remain in one place for any considerable time or for more than a few families to remain in permanent association. The outstanding sociopolitical units,

[171]

consequently, were the biological family and the small winter village, consisting of a loose aggregate of families...Because...of the erratic occurrence of wild seeds and the frequent variation of terrain covered, alliance did not always bring together the same families or village members. Habitual cooperation of the same people and therefore the development of fixed if limited political allegiances and controls was impossible. Likewise, habitual and exclusive utilization of particular territories by certain groups could not develop...Though kinship ties were important, the uncertainties of residence and of assured association with specific relatives prevented the development of an elaborate and nicely fixed set of kinship duties and obligations..."

621 433 22 171

Also ecology "permitted, if it did not cause, band development" in Owens Valley and "in late pre-Caucasian times among the Northern Shoshoni and probably the Ute."

The present writer has tried to show that "warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc." should not be called "noneconomic", although they may be predominantly something other than economic. All groupings have some economic dimensions. However, Steward's point is well taken. He implies that as the natural abundance of food increased or the techniques of exploitation and transportation improved the nature of groupings became less determined by the search for food.

621 433 22 114

This present writer accepts the major outlines of Steward's theory, but must add that it was not entirely true for the Washo. The Washo had one of the more productive natural environments in the Great Basin and this was reflected in their being closer in form of sociopolitical groupings to the Owens Valley Paiute than the Western Shoshoni. However, when we compare seasonal variations of aboriginal social organization it is clear that predominantly economic activities determined the nature of groupings in the abundant summer as well as the meager winter.

Also Washo sociopolitical groupings were not radically altered by the comparatively abundant food made available by Whites. There is support for the idea that the cultural traditions behind sociopolitical grouping have some degree of internal dynamics and resistence to change, apart from economic changes, in the facts of Washo acculturation.

## Barriers to Economic Development

433

The Washo lived in an area of abundance for a hunting, fishing, and gathering economy. They used this abundance to an advantage and, for a Great Basin tribe, had a dense population. Still they were surprisingly low in economic development. Kroeber (1939, 137) ranked the Washo on the

[161]

433

lowest level of a seven point scale of culture for native North America.

Trade, warfare, and communication provide the avenues for cultural diffusion. 433
If these avenues of communication lead to technologically advanced cultures, 439
we can expect economic development even if custom is sanctified and the 177
force of tradition is great. The greatest barrier to Washo economic development seems to have been their isolated territorial location. They were isolated from the surrounding high cultures in the Southwest, California, and the Northwest Coast. Barriers to trade were discussed above (pp. 50-51): mountain [033]
terrain, language differences, climatic extremes, lack of significant tradeable [628]
surpluses, location of sufficient resources within Washo territory, and inter-tribal hatreds. These barriers to trade were also barriers to economic development in that lines of diffusion remained weak.

Washo society was neither inventively productive nor absorptive. It does 433
not appear to represent a focal point for the development of any new and 178
more efficient solutions to the problems of survival. It appears rather, to have developed from big game hunting to a slightly more efficient base of [177]
hunting, fishing, and gathering. This development may have derived from the influence of Shoshoneans. More efficient techniques of gathering and storing fish might have raised their economy to the level of most Californians. Even in historic times the Washo have been slow in adopting agriculture and animal husbandry.

Manning Nash (Adams, et al, n.d., 23) suggested that the household was 433
not a very viable unit for economic expansion "because it is such a multi- 592
functional unit." Unlike the modern business firm, the household has many non-economic functions which conflict with its economic functions. This multifunctional character was present in all Washo socioeconomic groups.

The fact that the Washo did survive in their environment with a simple 433
technology attests to the culture's efficiency and viability. We simply raise the question of why they did not develop a more advanced economy and suggest that the kind of economy they had, with little inter-tribal trade and an orientation to the household, was a barrier to this development.

## Prestige Economy and Money

The concept of a "prestige economy" came into use after DuBois (1936, 50) 433
defined the economic involvement in acquiring prestige among the Tolowa- 554
Tututni. She defined prestige economy as "a series of social prerogatives

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and m¢mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

## Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

bear nuts two years in succession because pine trees have a biannual sexual maturity cycle, but different groves in different parts of the territory might combine to provide a crop each year if precipitation is sufficient. 433 222

Pinenuts were gathered in strips (dimasha) about one-third to one-half of a mile wide that ran up the hill following the natural contours. These strips were marked off by lines of stones (Lowie 1939, 303; Freed n.d., 10). Since the pinenuts ripened first at the lower elevations the gathering began at the bottom of the hill in September with the last prime nuts being gathered at higher elevations around the middle of October. Although gathering might go on for several weeks the actual collection time of prime nuts was about three weeks.

As the gathering party moved up the hill about three or four large brush and pineneedle covered caches of cones with the nuts still in them were built up the side of the hill. The caches ranged widely in size, but from descriptions it is possible to estimate an average size. A cache with its protective covering was about fifteen feet long, six feet wide, and four feet high. See Plate II, B for a view of a pinenut cache. Each household usually had rights in two or three strips but in abundant years might only collect from one strip. This would give each household about four caches each with from three to six hundred pounds of pinenuts, or about three hundred pounds per person. 433 222 251

In addition to the nuts cached in cones, a few hundred pounds of nuts in the shells would be gathered and eaten right away or cached in stone and grass lined pits (damyeo). Dry pineneedles were mixed with the nuts to keep them from getting damp and mouldy. At a rate of about a pound of nuts per person a day this gave the household enough pinenuts for roughly one half of their total food consumption for two years.[1]

Unfortunately Washo storage techniques were insufficient to protect the caches much beyond a year so large portions were lost to rot and animals. Also there may be a good pinenut crop the next year so that last year's surplus was not used. These factors resulted in an overproduction of about one-half of the crop that was non-tradeable.

## Summary of Washo Economy

The aboriginal Washo Indians of California and Nevada subsisted on the products of hunting, fishing, and gathering. The staples of their diet were pinenuts, acorns, and other seeds, roots, and berries; small mammals; and fish. Deer provided some meat and most of the skins used in clothing. 262 [291]

1. Fremont wrote "at certain seasons they have fish...for the remainder of the year they live upon the pinenuts, which form their great winter subsistence... At present they were presented to us as a whole people living on this simple vegetable" (Nevins 1956, 353). [262]

1 [cc cat. 116, end plate I, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

237
513
342

Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

592
22

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

462

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft. [463]

43

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

433

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. [161]
The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. [439]
The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. [423]
Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. [251]
Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

114

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aborigfnal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago. [174]

We need data on the intimate, day-to-day activities within the household and community. This could still be derived from life histories on several of the oldest living Washo people. The literature is full of broad generalizations. What we need and can collect for a few more years is something of what B. Malinowski called the "imponderabilia of actual life."

114
174

## APPENDIX A

## LINGUISTIC NOTE AND GLOSSARY

The Washo spoke a Hokan language while the Northern Paiute to the east spoke a Utaztekan language and the Miwok and Maidu to the west spoke Penutian languages. Peoples speaking Hokan languages at initial White contact times were distributed in scattered groups from California through Mexico and into Central America. The glottochronology of Hokan indicates that the Hokan peoples began to split up into these groups about 5,000 years ago (Kroeber 1955).

The following orthography was used by this writer in recording and is the major one used in this study. Washo words from Lowie (1939) and Jacobsen (personal communication) have been rewritten to conform to the orthography used here.

| Consonants | labial | alveolar | frontal | velar | glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| voiceless stops | p | t | | k | ? |
| voiced stops | b | d | | g | |
| voiceless fricatives | | s | sh | | h |
| voiced nasals | m | n | | ng | |
| voiced lateral | | l | | | |
| voiced semivowels | w | | y | | |

| Vowels | front unrounded | central unrounded | back rounded |
|---|---|---|---|
| high | i | | u |
| mid-close | e | | o |
| mid-open | ¢ | | |
| low | | a | |

Essentially the consonants may be pronounced as in English and the vowels as follows: "i" as in be, "e" as in bay, "¢" as in bed, "a" as in bog, "o" as in boat, and "u" as in boot. The sound "sh" is found in the English word ship, while "ng" occurs in running.

Kroeber (1907) reports no regular system of accenting and uses very few accents even in his phonetic recording.

### Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| angale atega | "houses together", a community |
| atabi | fish |
| ayas | antelope |

104

| | |
|---|---|
| badakush sew¢ | wooden pegs |
| ba du? cuhu? | elderberry staff (Jacobsen) |
| bakmanga | ladder |
| baleo | looped stirring stick |
| balnasung | tattooing |
| balogo | knotted calendar string |
| balohat | bow |
| bankush | tobacco |
| bankush tash¢p | tobacco bag |
| bayako | harpoon |
| bayudate | single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket |
| bebits¢t | needle |
| beyugum | pinenut gathering pole |
| biali | meat drying scaffold |
| bih¢? | pinenut gathering pole |
| bikus | willow basketry cradle |
| bilada | U. S. currency |
| bisha basha | starvation |
| bishapu | hungry |
| bits¢k | pestle |
| boko? | dice |
| b¢l¢shi | willow bundle used in fish drive |
| | |
| dabal | sagebrush |
| damalu | trade |
| damomli | shaman |
| damu | poncho |
| damyeo | storage pit |
| dashkapush | strip of loin sinew |
| dauwatl dama | buck brush plant |
| dauyatsim buutsui | smoke hole |
| dayoliti | new rabbit skin blanket |
| demedugetiyi? | midwife (Jacobsen) |
| deubeyu | headman |
| de¢k | pipe or rock |
| dideu | deer sinew string |
| digush | net |
| dimasha | pinenut gathering strip |
| dime | water |
| dipek | white pigment (Jacobsen) |
| dipi? ngaming | child size rabbit skin robe |
| dishu | digging stick |
| diyu angal | coccoon rattle |
| diyu itgums¢w¢ | fireplace |
| di?yu | fire |
| dumbays¢gi | plant fiber string |
| dum¢¢sh | diverting streams to catch fish |
| d¢ell¢gi d¢tki | a red berry |

104

| | |
|---|---|
| d¢gikup | subglobular choke-mouth basket |
| d¢mg¢ | metate |
| d¢m¢meu | deer rib |
| | |
| gadu | windbreak or summer shelter |
| galis dangal | "winter house" (Jacobsen), household |
| gamum | mano |
| gawa | gambling |
| gidatwadota | a person's belongings |
| giuleu | large coiled cooking basket |
| golang | cooking stones |
| gumgaowi | hair cut |
| gumisasum | menstruation |
| guml¢sh¢¢sh | foot race |
| gumyoyabuwe | breechclout |
| g¢liwisha tsuhua | stick for winding rabbit skin string |
| | |
| hang¢l¢lti | southerners |
| himo | willow |
| hinaya | handgame - women playing |
| hinayaugi | handgame - men playing |
| hiyemai yeki | giving gifts (Lowie) |
| hut¢tiki | stingy |
| | |
| ih¢pbey¢gul | headband |
| imbeshuk | fish dam |
| imboshude | apron |
| iombisuk | door |
| ipu | find |
| ish | skin or bark |
| itbayuk | flint flaker |
| itdamkut | spoon |
| itgumbeyut | seed processing brush |
| itgumdosha | "it is for sweating", sweat house |
| itkolanga | seat |
| itmago | course basketry pinecone bowl |
| itmahadas | small basketry mush bowl |
| itmolit | loom bars |
| itpakmal¢t | trap |
| itpasua | door opening |
| itwega | hairbrush |
| | |
| kaas | paddle stirring stick |
| kumyu ga | giving presents to bride's parents (Lowie) |
| k¢tip | basketry water bottle |

104

| | |
|---|---|
| lam | bedrock mortar |
| lamamshawi | thief |
| loshmangal | dance house |
| | |
| maak b¢h¢sing | firewood, small sticks |
| ma?angal | brush blind or fishing house (Jacobsen) |
| maba | mat |
| madap | shell |
| magu tal sali | blanket when the hair begins to fall out |
| magu tsu shushi | tanned deer hide |
| makau | beads |
| malung | acorn |
| mamayt | open weave conical burden basket |
| mangumtash | dress |
| mashoni | arrowshaft smoother |
| mats¢bab¢shi | fly larvae |
| ma?sate | arrowpoint |
| ma?yodop | hood on baby basket (Jacobsen) |
| megodih¢p | hair net or thin basketry hat |
| melliu | belt |
| mibi? | awl |
| mib¢shigihi | sharing |
| mishu | tattoo |
| modal | close weave basketry tray |
| mogahat | footbridge |
| moko | moccasins |
| mugigush | fence |
| mugishua | football |
| m¢liuy¢k | bracelet |
| m¢mdewi | deer |
| m¢mdewi ish | deerskin |
| m¢mgiwa | wealth to gamble with, "a bet" |
| m¢skisit | arrow |
| | |
| nanomba | pinenut tree sugar (spring sap) |
| ngawngang ?eluhaya? | "she (or they) fed the baby," baby feast (Jacobsen) |
| | |
| ogul | mountain goat |
| | |
| pa | lose |
| paolel¢l tayadi | east side or "moiety" |
| patalmi m¢gi | eagle nest |
| patsaga | obsidian |
| pauwalu | easterners |
| peyu | buy or pay |

| | |
|---|---|
| p¢kishu wigas | lower leg pants, leggings |
| p¢kishu wigas dabal ish | "shin pants (of) sagebrush skin" |
| p¢lleu | rabbit |
| p¢lleu ush¢¢sh | rabbit drive |
| petsumeli? | wild rose (Jacobsen) |
| | |
| sawasang | red ochre (Jacobsen) |
| seshishi | "to drag the feet repeatedly", a social dance similar to the Shoshonean round dance (Jacobsen) |
| | |
| shigimba | sugarpine sugar |
| shumelli | snowshoes or manzanita brush |
| sigaya | stick game |
| singam | basket, also a close coiled basketry bowl |
| | |
| taba | bear |
| tada | bed |
| tagil | obsidian knife |
| tagum | pinenut |
| tagum gumsabay? | pinenut festival (Jacobsen) |
| tanglel¢l tayadi | west side or "moiety" |
| tang¢l¢lti | westerners |
| tapuli tugabul | seed beater |
| tashmanal | sweat house |
| tashukido | loin sinew |
| tash¢p | bag |
| ta?a | a summer shade |
| te?we?we? | "to crawl enclosing repeatedly," puberty ceremony dance (Jacobsen) |
| tish¢shi | buckskin |
| ti¢li dipi? | adult size rabbit skin robe |
| tsapo | ashes |
| tsilug¢l | skirt |
| tsisuapo | feathers |
| ts¢hit | soot |
| tugabul | scoop-shaped open twined tray |
| t¢l¢lupa | rabbit skin string wound and tied for storage |
| | |
| ulu ushi | fire stick |
| umbidu | child's blanket |
| umlagu' 'wa'a | a return gift (Lowie) |
| umlalate | rock toss game |
| uml¢suk | necklace |
| ungabi | salt |
| | |
| waltsatsini | yellow or green |
| wanashugeshe | trader |
| washtangam | small open weave burden basket |

104

| | |
|---|---|
| w¢galeyu | supernatural power |
| w¢lm¢lti | northerners |
| w¢lyauwi | black |

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

## Abbreviations

UC-AR University of California Anthropological Records.
UC-ASR University of California Archaeological Survey Reports.
UC-PAAE University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
UU-AP University of Utah Anthropological Papers.


Adams, Richard, et al.
n.d. Workshop in Economic Anthropology. Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change, University of Chicago. Ms.

Anastasio, Angelo
n.d. Intergroup Relations in the Southern Plateau. Unpublished. (Ph.D. dissertation, 1955, University of Chicago).

Barrett, Samuel A.
1908 The Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians. UC-PAAE, Vol. 16, No. 2, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

1917 The Washo Indians. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1, Milwaukee.

Barrett, Samuel A. and Edward W. Gifford
1933 Miwok Material Culture. Publications of the Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin 2, No. 4, Milwaukee.

Beals, Ralph L.
1933 Ethnology of the Nisenan. UC-PAAE, Vol. 31, No. 6, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

California Interstate Telephone Co.
1959 Romantic Heritage of Douglas-Alpine.

Cappannari, Stephan C.
1960 The Concept of Property Among Shoshoneans. Essays in the Science of Culture, G. E. Dole and R. L. Carneiro (Eds.), Thomas Y. Crowell Co., N. Y.

Dangberg, Grace
n.d. Ethnographic Field Notes on the Washo Indians. Ms.

1927 Washo Texts. UC-PAAE, Vol. 22, No. 3, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

(13

Davis, James T.
1961 Trade Routes and Economic Exchange Among the Indians of California. UC-ASR, No. 54, Berkeley.

Davis, Kingsley
1949 Human Society. Macmillan, New York.

d'Azevedo, Warren L.
n.d. (a) Washo Trek Routes. Unpublished map.

n.d. (b) Washo Habitation Sites and Place Names. Ms.

d'Azevedo, Warren L. and John A. Price
n.d. A Bibliography of Washo Sources. In Press, UU-AP.

Department of Economic Development
n.d. Nevada Agriculture and other pamphlets. Carson City.

Dodge, J. (Indian Agent)
n.d. Letter to Iacob Forney, Esq., Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory, Jan. 4, 1859. BIA, Utah Superintendency, L. R. 1859, D-635.

Downs, James F.
1961 Washo Religion. UC-AR, Vol. 16, No. 9, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

n.d. Differential Response to White Contact: Paiute and Washo. In Press, UU-AP.

Driver, Harold E. and William C. Massey
1957 Comparative Studies of North American Indians. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 47, Part 2, Philadelphia.

DuBois, Cora
1936 The Wealth Concept as an Integrative Factor in Tolowa-Tututni Culture. Essays in Honor of A. L. Kroeber, R. Lowie (Ed.), University of California Press, Berkeley.

Elsasser, Albert B.
1960 The Archaeology of the Sierra Nevada, in California and Nevada. UC-ASR, No. 51, Berkeley.

Fairfield, Asa M.
1916 Pioneer History of Lassen County, California. Crocker Company, San Francisco.

Ferris and Smith (Publishers)
1882 Illustrated History of Plumas, Lassen, and Sierra Counties, San Francisco.

Freed, Stanley A.
n.d. Washo Habitation Sites in the Lake Tahoe Area. Ms.

1960 Changing Washo Kinship. UC-AR, Vol. 14, No. 6, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

n.d. A Reconstruction of Aboriginal Washo Social Organization. In Press, UU-AP.

Freed, Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed
n.d. A Configuration of Aboriginal Washo Culture. In Press, UU-AP.

Genoa Weekly Courier
1891 Genoa.

Gifford, Edward W.
1926 Californian Anthropometry. UC-PAAE, Vol. 22, No. 2, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Haglund, E. A., et. al,
1961 The Washo, Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Nevada. Department of Education, State of Nevada, Carson City.

Heizer, Robert F. and Albert B. Elsasser
1953 Some Archaeological Sites and Cultures of the Central Sierra Nevada. UC-ASR, No. 21, Berkeley.

Herskovits, Melville J.
1952 Economic Anthropology. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Hoebel, E. Adamson
1958 Man in the Primitive World, McGraw-Hill, New York.

Hopkins, Sarah Winnemucca
1883 Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Mrs. Horace Mann (Ed.). G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Hrdlička, Ales
1904 Direction for Collecting Information and Specimens for Physical Anthropology, Bulletin, U. S. Natural History Museum, No. 34, Part R, Washington.

113

Hurt, Garlund (Indian Agent)
n.d. Letter to His Excellency Brigham Young, Governor and Ex Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory, September, 1856. BIA, Utah Superintendency, L. R. 1856, U-13.

Indian Claims Commission
1959 The Washoe Tribe v. The United States. Docket 288, Findings of Fact.

Ingalls, G. W., Major
1913 Indians of Nevada, 1825 to 1913. The History of Nevada. Sam P. Davis (Ed.). Elms Publishing Co., Reno.

Jacobsen, William H., Jr.
n.d. Internal Reconstruction in Washo. Ms., Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

James, George Wharton
1956 The Lake of the Sky, Lake Tahoe. Charles T. Powner Co., Chicago.

Kennedy, K. A. R.
1959 The Aboriginal Population of the Great Basin. UC-AR, No. 45, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Kroeber, A. L.
1907 The Washo Language of East Central California and Nevada. UC-PAAE, Vol. 4, No. 4, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

1925 Handbook of the Indians of California. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 78, Washington.

1947 Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America. UC-PAAE, Vol. 38, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

1955 Linguistic Time Depths So Far and Their Meaning. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 21, No. 2.

Lamb, Sydney M.
1958 Linguistic Prehistory in the Great Basin. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 24, No. 2.

Lowie, Robert H.
1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. UC-PAAE, Vol. 36, No. 5, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

113

Mack, Effie Mona
1945 Nevada's First House. The Nevada Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, Gardnerville.

Merriam, A. P. and Warren L. d'Azevedo
1957 Washo Peyote Songs. American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 4, Menasha.

Merriam, C. Hart
n.d. Vocabularies of North American Indians. Tribe: Washoo. Ms.

n.d. U. S. Department of Agriculture. Biological Survey. Field Check Lists. Pacific Coast Region. Wah-shoo. Ms.

Murphey, Edith Van Allen
1959 Indian Uses of Native Plants. Desert Printers Inc., Palm Desert.

Nevada, A Guide to the Silver State
1940 Writer's Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Nevada. Binfords and Mort, Portland.

Nevins, Allan (Ed.)
1956 Narratives of Exploration and Adventure by John Charles Fremont. Longmans, Green and Co., New York.

Polanyi, Karl
1959 Anthropology and Economic Theory. Readings in Anthropology. Morton Fried (Ed.), Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York.

Price, John A.
n.d. (a) A Review of Research on Prehistory in Washo Territory. In Press, UU-AR.

n.d. (b) Some Aspects of Washo Life Cycle. In Press, UU-AR.

Program of the Carson Agency
n.d. Ms., Stewart.

Remy, Jules and Robert Brenchley
1860 A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City. Vol. 1, W. Jeffs, London.

Riddell, Francis
1960 Honey Lake Paiute Ethnography. Nevada State Museum Anthropological Papers, No. 4, Carson City.

Record-Courier
1956
1959
1960 Gardnerville.

Sahlins, Marshall
1960 Political Power and the Economy in Primitive Society. Essays in the Science of Culture, G. E. Dole and R. L. Carneiro (Eds.), Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York.

Sample, Laetitia L.
1950 Trade and Trails in Aboriginal California. UC-ASR, No. 8, Berkeley.

San Francisco Chronicle
1892 San Francisco.

Scott, Edward B.
1957 The Saga of Lake Tahoe. Sierra-Tahoe Pub. Co., Crystal Bay, Lake Tahoe.

Sieber, R. T. (Ed.)
1951 My Sixty Years on the Plains, Trapping, Trading, and Indian Fighting. Author: William T. Hamilton. Reprinted by Longs College Book Co., Columbus.

Siskin, Edgar E.
1938 Washo Territory. American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, No. 4, pt. 1, Menasha.

Stewart, Julian H.
1938 Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 120, Washington.

Stewart, Omer C.
1941 Culture Element Distributions: XIV, Northern Paiute. UC-AR, Vol. 4, No. 3, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Thompson, Thomas H. and Albert A. West
1881 History of Nevada. Thompson-West, Oakland. Reprinted by Howell-North, Berkeley. In 1958 with Myron Angel as editor.

Train, Percy, James R. Heinrichs and W. Andrew Archer
1941 Medicinal Use of Plants by Indian Tribes of Nevada. Contributions Toward a Flora of Nevada, No. 35, U. S. Department of Agriculture and Agricultural Research Service, Baltimore.

6: Price E-4, 5 (1961) 1962. NT20 Washo NT20

White, Leslie A.
1959 The Evolution of Culture, McGraw-Hill, New York. 113

## EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate I. Map of Washo territory.

Plate II. These photographs were taken by Grace Dangberg of Minden, between 1917 and 1920. a, Roasting pinenuts (tagum). b, Susie Dick breaking out pinenuts (tagum) in front of a pinenut cache. This illustrates the great size of these caches.

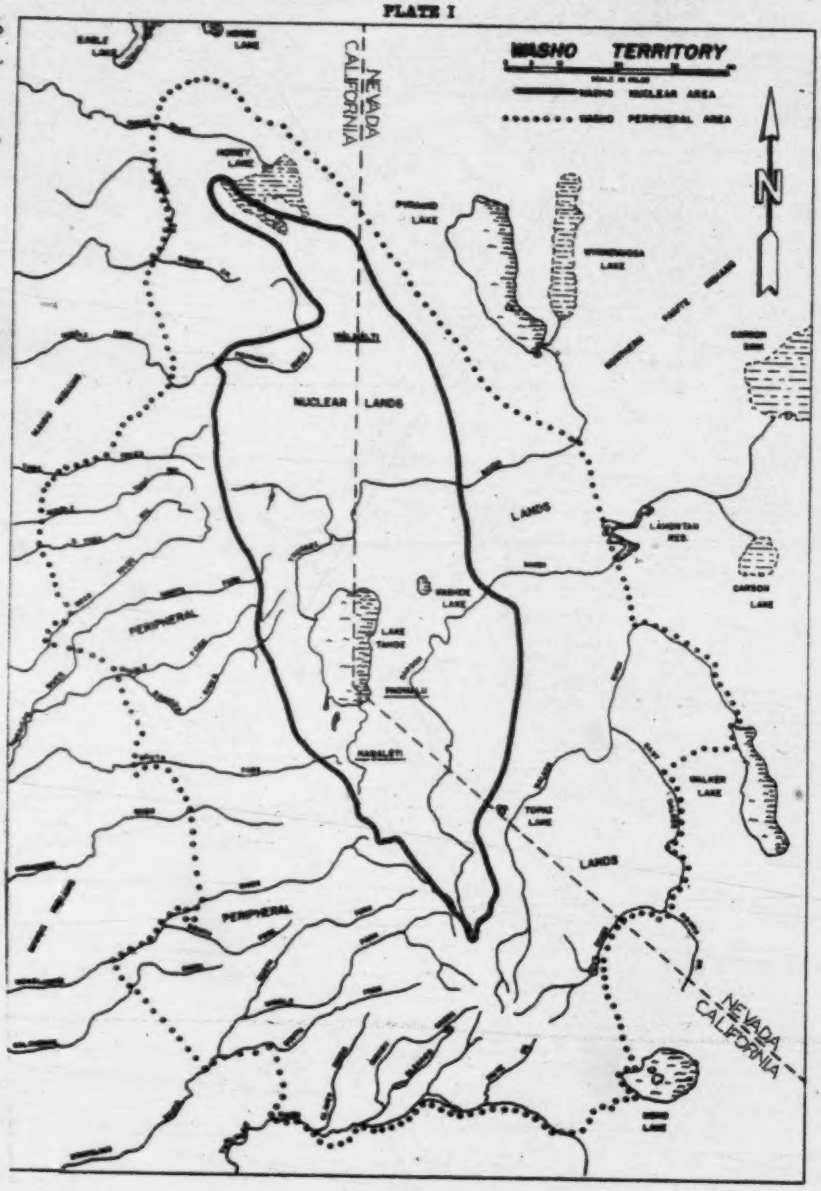
Plate III. a,b,c, Winnie Pete and her daughter Flossie Bennett processing acorns (malung) using a bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k). d, Bertha Holbrook illustrates the use of the bedrock mortar (lam) and pestle (bits¢k). The photograph was taken at Dresslerville, Nevada in 1961.

Plate IV. a, Rabbit drive (p¢lleu ush¢¢sh). b, Captain Pete at the rabbit drive. c, Susie Dick wearing a rabbitskin blanket. These photographs were taken by Grace Dangberg of Minden between 1917 and 1920.

Plate V. a, Winter house (galis dangal) and baskets. b, Summer shelter (gadu). c, Susie Dick holding two sets of hand game pieces. d, The carrying position of the cradleboard (bikus). These photographs were taken by Grace Dangberg of Minden, between 1917 and 1920.

103
102
131
133

PLATE I




[End Plate I]

PLATE II 1/1

251
291

a. Roasting pinenuts.

291
251

b. Susie Dick breaking out pinenuts in front of a pinenut cache. This illustrates the great size of these caches.

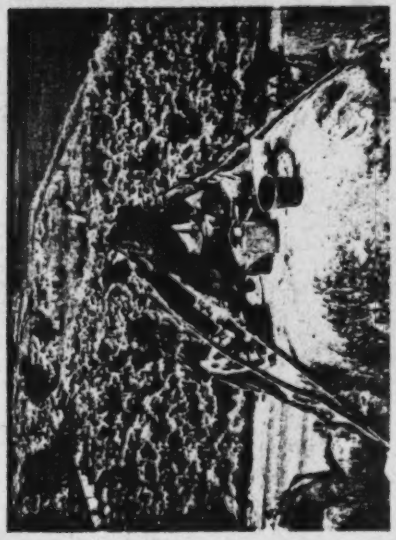
1/1 [Legend appears on p. 74, Cat. 116—Au.]

[End Plate II]

PLATE III

516
252
291
415
412

d. Bertha Holbrook illustrates the use of the bedrock mortar and pestle.



a, b, c. Winnie Pete and her daughter Fonnie Bennett processing acorns using a bedrock mortar and stone pestle.

1/2 [legend appears on p. 74, cat. 116 -- Ann]

[End Plate III]

PLATE IV 1/1

224

a. Rabbit drive.

237
513

c. Susie Dick wearing a rabbitskin blanket.

291

b. Captain Pete at the rabbit drive.

These photographs were taken by Omer Stewart of Ethnic between 1937 and 1939.

[End Plate IV]

1/1 [legend appears on p. 74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

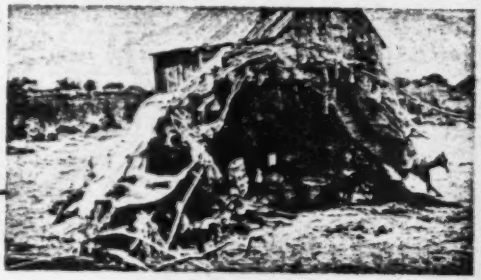
PLATE V 1/1

342
291
415

a. Winter house and baskets.

342

291
482
854



b. Summer shelter.

d. The carrying position of the cradleboard.

291
516
524

c. Susie Dick holding two sets of hand game pieces.

These photographs were taken by [illegible] between 1947 and 1949.

2/2 [Legend appears on p.74, cat. 116 -- Analysis]

[End Plate V]

796

535

/General information on the pine-nut dance as part of the annual pine-nut harvest will be found in category 527./